The Two Thousand Years Old Language of Afghanistan

or

The Mother of Dari Language

(An Analysis of the Baghlan Inscription)

by

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Preface

The Mother of Dari Language is a detailed analysis of the Baghlan inscription which was discovered near the ancient city of Baghlan in northern Afghanistan in 1953. The inscription dates back to the time of the Kushanid Emperor Kanishka, in the second century A.D., and was written in the Kushani language. It was analyzed by Professor Abdul Hai Habibi, in 1963. He presented his findings in a book entitled *Madar-e Zaban-e Dari* (Mother of the Dari Language) which was later translated into English.

Professor Habibi undertook the task of reading the inscription, written in cursive Greek letters, and in doing so he analyzed each word and came to the conclusion that the Kushani language had affinities with both Dari (Persian) and Pashto. Some of the words used in the language are living words found in these languages. He concluded that its language was an ancient form of Persian spoken in Afghanistan and the origin of the words can be found in old Persian, Pahlavi, Sughdi, Khotani, Pashto, Sanskrit and other languages spoken in the mountain valleys of Afghanistan.

The inscription is the oldest excavated document pertaining to the origins of Dari and sheds light on the two thousand year old language spoken in ancient Tukharistan and its relationship to the languages of the region. Due to its linguistic, philological and historical importance the book has been translated into English so that it may be available to a wider audience

Classical Persian, Arabic and Pashto texts are known by the name of a book such as the Shahnama, and Burhan-e Qatà. Following this tradition the names of books were referred in the footnotes and as such the bibliography is alphabetized in compliance with the footnotes i.e. according the name of the book followed by the name of the author.

Introduction

As a result of highway construction in the historical province of Baghlan, Tukharistan, a Greek inscription was discovered in Surkh Kotal in 1951, 15 km from the city of Pule Khumri. The discovery prompted the French Archaeological Mission to continue its excavations in the area, and consequently in 1952 and 1953, the mission, under the direction of Daniel Schlumberger, uncovered the relics of a great Kushanid temple, along with a series of coins, statues, and inscriptions. Among the ruins, a fire-altar for a sacred fire was also found. The temple was constructed during the early Kushanid period and this historical building was destroyed around 240 A.D. by a fire, the remains of which can still be seen in the temple.

According to Schlumberger the temple was not a place where statues were displayed akin Greek temples. Nor did it follow the Buddhist tradition of a shrine as a depository of Buddhist remains but the temple held only the sacred fire. Even six or seven centuries after Zoraster, the same *iyr* (this word is the same in content as *ore* of Pashto) was lit there. It dates before the reform of Mazd Yasna beliefs during the Sassanid period, and fire worship there seems to have been a local manifestation.

The fire-altar of Surkh Kotal in Baghlan is the first temple of its kind to be discovered in Afghanistan. Upon studying its remains, scholars have concluded that it truly represents the cultural and artistic peculiarities of the country during the Kushanid period. Meanwhile, the language of the inscriptions is a local Afghan language.

The most important and elaborate inscription discovered in this temple on May 7, 1957, was a flat stone whose left side measured 117 cm, the right 110 cm, the top 132 cm and the bottom 125 cm. The inscription was etched on a flat stone but it seemed that some areas of its surface were pitted and others contained irregularities before the inscription was carved into the stone. However, the letters of the inscription have not been damaged and its 25 lines can be read easily. The number of letters, which are in Greek cursive script, totals 947, with each line holding from 25 to 48 letters.

The orientalists who studied the inscription are Andre Maricq, who published the results of his study in the Journal Asiatique,[1] M. B. Henning[2] and Emile Benveniste.[3] The later scholar also studied two other inscriptions which were discovered on several pieces of flat stones at Surkh Kotal and his study is somewhat different from the others.

Among the three tablets I examined I call the largest the first copy while I consider the other two the second and third copy. I started my work on the first copy by taking into consideration

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[1] Journal Asiatique, 246-2::345-440.
[2] Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 23: 47-55.
[3] Journal Asiatique, 249-2:113-152.

previous research done on the subject. Therefore I do not insist that my views are necessarily definitive. In the future, if another scholar should read the inscription with greater accuracy, I will accept his findings.

In this treatise I first examined each word on its historical and linguistic basis and at the end of the study I include photos of the inscription. I also prepared a chart of the words, along with their Dari and English translation and made some linguistic and historical remarks as well.

It is my hope that this study will benefit all researchers, and if there are any inconsistencies in my rendering of the inscription, I trust that the reader will not hesitate to correct them.

Preliminary Notes

In preparing my analysis of the Surkh Kotal inscription I have compiled a basic core of historical and linguistic background material which appears in the first section of the book to help the reader decipher the contents of the inscription.

1. The Language of the Inscription or 1800 Years Old Persian

In their study of the inscription European orientalists have referred to its language as Bactrian but because Baghlan is situated in historical Tukharistan it is better to call the language Tukhari. However, here I have named it a Kushani language, which is the correct appellation. Al-Beruni and Al-Bushari Maqdasi named the language of this province, located between Balkh and Badakshan, Tukhari, and they consider it close to the Balkhi language. So calling the language of this inscription Tukhari is permissible.[4]

There are no documents from the pre-Islamic period showing a language which could be considered as the mother of the Dari (Persian) language, although the language of southern Pahlavi in Pars and northern Pahlavi in Mawara-un-Nahr, Khutan and Turfan had spread and was used as a court language in the Sassanid kingdom. In Khorasan, extending from the slopes of the Hindukush to the province of Gandahara, and in the court of the Kushanids and of such local rulers as the Hepthalites, a language did exist which we can now call the mother of present Dari language of Afghanistan. The oldest remnants of this language were discovered in the Surkh Kotal inscription relating to the second century A.D. It was inscribed in cursive Greek letters.

As seen from the analysis of the inscription, there is a close relation between this language, whether we call it Tukhari or Kushani, and that of the present Persian spoken in Afghanistan, Dari and Pashto of Afghanistan. Despite the fact that most of its words and verbs are common to

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[4] Ãsar-al-Baqia, p. 222; Ahasan-al-Taqasim, p. 335.

Pashto, we cannot consider it as Pashto. It is rather the ancient structure or an older feature of current Persian. Meanwhile, the origin of some of its words can be found in old Persian, Pahlavi, Sughdi, Khotani and other dialects of Afghanistan.

In a book entitled Pashto and Loyakan of Ghazna, I mentioned that the language of this inscription might be Pashto or a language close to Pashto. A closer and precise look at words and the presence of word dividers in the form of (O) indicates that the language is closer to Persian than Pashto. Thus, there are two possibilities relating to this inscription and the language of the Kushanids.

First: According to the rules of philology, it might very well be argued that this language belongs to a large isogloss where two languages or two dialects mix together and possibly construct one common language or dialect. It may be that Pashto speaking Pakhats, an ancient Aryan race, reported in Veda and Avesta, lived in southern Hindukush, while another group of people of the Aryan race, who spoke a language which might have been the mother of the present Dari, lived in northern Hindukush. These two languages, as a result of close economic, social and cultural relations of their speakers, might have mixed together and created an isogloss on the slopes of the Hindukush in the province of Tukhar, as suggested by this inscription which has elements of both languages.

Second: It might also be suggested that the Kushani language, as seen in this inscription, might have existed as the court language in this realm before the advent of Dari and Pashto (around the second century A.D.). Afterward, during the following four centuries, until the advent of Islam, Pashto and Dari developed from it, because the most ancient literary works of Dari and Pashto date back to the early Islamic era.

By accepting the second possibility, we have to call the language of this inscription the mother of Pashto and Dari languages. It can be argued that four centuries seems to be an inadequate length of time for the complete separation of Pashto, in which case the second possibility becomes a matter of dispute.

Until now it was commonly believed that after the Arab invasion the Pahlavi language gradually developed into present Persian.[5] Currently another view has appeared which suggests that Dari, or the Persian spoken in Afghanistan, existed along with Pahlavi in pre-Islamic periods.[6] Several reasons have been given to support this view, but none is as comprehensive nor as important as the existence of the Baghlan inscription. Now that we have studied this inscription we are convinced that the present Persian language is by no means branched from Pahlavi, but that it existed 1800 to 2000 years ago in Tukhar as a language of court and literature, both written and spoken. We now have 25 lines of the language with all 155 words having the same figures of that historical period. Hence, the discovery of the Baghalan inscription has brought about a

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[5] Tarikh-e Adabi, Mujalae Danishkada, I, p. 410; Tarikh Adabiyat-e Iran, p. 33; Mujala-e Yadgar, p. 6-9.
[6] Introduction of Burhan-e Qatà, p. 27.

change in the world of linguistics and literature in Afghanistan, unsettling previous scholastic views.

Concerning the existence of the Persian language, one notes that all the prose and poetic compositions in this language, which were discovered after the introduction of the Shahnama, written by Abu Mansoori (346 H.) in prose, were written in extremely clear Persian. This shows that the language was nurtured centuries before Islam in order for it to have acquired such lucidity and literary strength. Moreover, some sentences in fluent Persian have also been quoted in Arabic books during the advent of Islam.[7] In addition when poetry in the Dari language first appeared in Khurasan and Seistan, the poems were, in reality, so mature that no one could believe they were written at such an early period. In reality they reveal the maturity of the language at that time.[8]

In light of all these suggestions I am going to analyze two possibilities relating to the advent of Pashto and Persian. According to the date recorded in the Baghlan inscription we ought to believe that the mother of Dari language existed around the first or second century A.D. From its early form the language developed in five or six centuries into the Persian of early Islamic period. The Shahnama of Abu Mansoor is an extant example of the language.

There are documents in hand in Pashto dating to the early centuries of Islam. Thus the same reasons mentioned for the development of the Dari apply to Pashto also. Pashto existed centuries before the advent of Islam and the language had reached maturity during the early Islamic era so that lucid poetry was recited in it.

From this we can deduce that Pahsto was not derived from the Kushani language,[9] but it existed concomitantly in the Pashtoon Khwa mountains. Thus, these two Afghan languages, just as today, were spoken at the same time. Their effect on one another is obvious. The Baghlan inscription carries some Pashto words and verbs which were probably transferred from Pashto to the Kushani language, or vice versa. The effect of these two languages on each other is more obvious today and there are several examples in which one language has acquired words from the other.

For example, Dari has idioms and expressions that Iranian Persian lacks. During marriage ceremonies in Kabul's Dari the expression *palow ghot* is used. It means tying the corner of the bride's scarf (*palow* means the corner of a scarf and *ghota* means (to tie). In the same token the Persian speakers of Kandahar call each other *o zoy. Zoy* here means son while in Dari the word is *pisar*. Meanwhile, there are several words in Pashto which have been taken from Persian, such as *saeb* (apple), *darakht* (tree) etc., which Pashto speakers use without difficulty, although they have adapted them to fit the grammatical structure of their own language. Such words are used

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[7] There are some Dari sentences in al-Mahasen wa al-`Adad of Jahiz (160-255 H.); Àyoon-al-Akhbar and Tarikh-e Tabari.

[8] For further information see the introduction of Burhan-e Qatà .

[9] For the complete evolution of Pashto from the Kushanid language 4 or 5 centuries are not enough.

despite the fact that they have their own equivalents in Pahsto.

2. The Kushanid Period and Date of the Inscription

Words #68 to 74 give the date when the inscription was written as follows: In the 31st year of the kingdom, during the month of Nésân.[10] From the written documents of Kaniskha and his descendents, it seems that the year when Kanishka ascended the throne was accepted as the origin of the calendar of that period. Even after his death, dates were recorded according to this system. Although historians hold different views about the date of his ascension, 120 A.D. has been generally accepted for this purpose.[11]

In this connection, Sten-Konow, in an article[12] writes that Kaniskha's reign extended from 125 to 152 A.D. These dates are also accepted by researchers such as Christensen.[13] However, the author of the History of Afghanistan has written that Kanishka reigned from the years 125 to 160 A.D.[14] There are certain Indian inscriptions related to Kanishka's time, one of which records the date of the first month of summer, year 23, which corresponds to 151 A.D., while another carries a summer month date from year 24. The later is the year in which a descendent of Kanishka, Wasishka, ascended the throne of the kingdom. This, then clearly indicates that Kaniskha died between the summers of 151 and 152 A.D.[15] Since the authenticity of the above mentioned documents cannot be doubted we must reject the 160 A.D. date mentioned in the History of Afghanistan.

Moreover, Sten-Konow, in a study of Chinese documents of Hu Han Shu, has ascertained that Kanishka, before his death in 152 A.D. travelled to Khutan, and in that same year either was slain or died a natural death.[16] He has set the date of the origin of Kanishka's reign as 128 to 129 A.D.[17] If we accept the origin of the Kanishka period as 129 A.D., the spring (month of Nésân) of Year 31 corresponds to 160 A.D. or eight years after Kanishka's death.

There are several Khurushti and Brahman inscriptions available for study which have mentioned the dates about which we are concerned here: Kanishka's inscription carries the dates of years 1, 3 and 13. Wasishka's inscription has the dates of years 24 and 28. Huvishka's inscription list years 33 and 60 and Vasu-Deva's inscription gives the dates years 74 and 98. [18]

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[10] This will be described under #72 later in this analysis.

[11] Tarekh-e Afghanistan, Vol.II, p. 222.

[12] Acta Orientalia, Vol. 6, p. 93.

[13] Mazda Parasti in Ancient Iran, p. 114.

[14] Tarekh-e Afghanistan, II, p. 223

[15] Kharoshti Inscriptions, p. 168.

[16] Kharoshti Inscriptions, p. 169.

[17] Kharoshti Inscriptions, p. 165.

[18] Kharoshti Inscriptions, p. 164.

From this we can ascertain that the Baghlan inscription was probably written during the reign of Kanishka's descendents, either Wasishka or Huvishka, around 160 A.D. If we consider the year of Kanishka's ascension to be somewhere between 120 and 125 A.D. then the date of the writing of this inscription could be set somewhere between 150 and 160 A.D.

3. The Kushani Alphabet

The Kushani alphabet, according to the Baghlan inscription, has the following sounds, each of which is represented here with its corresponding figure in Greek alphabet as it appears in the inscription. Each word is described according to its numerical order in the following list. It is possible that some of the sounds of this language are not represented in the inscription in that the words which incorporate them were not used in the text. The symbols represented in the tablet are:

1. A   2. B   3. Π   4. F   5. T   6. Ѳ   7. X   8. Δ   9. P   10. Z   11. C   12. þ
13. þX 14. K   15. Γ   16. ΓΓ 17. Λ   18. M   19. N   20. Ψ   21. O   22. Υ   23. E   24. H
25. *fatha*   26. *dama*   27. *kasra*   28. (O) word divider

1. Represents the *alif* of Persian and has been used as a vowel for *fatha*. Since a separate figure is not used for the sound (aa), it is difficult to differentiate the two.
2. Represents *bae* sound, as in *ãb*.
3. Represents *pae* in as in *pohar, pour* and *pisar.*
4. Represents *fae*. It is a sound which does not exist in present-day Pashto. Instead of which *pae* is used.
5. Represents *tae*, as in *naist*.
6. This letter has the sound like "th" which is close to <u>*tsae*</u> of Pashto.
7. Represents <u>*khae*</u>, although sometimes it has been changed to a hard (k).
8. Represents *dal*. It is found at the end of certain Kushanid words. In Persian and Pashto, it has either been omitted or modified to a slight (h).
9. Represents *rae*. The same sound is used today as in *kard.*
10. Represents *zae* but it has sometimes been changed to <u>*zhae*</u>. However, in this inscription, there are no separate figures for <u>*zhae*</u> and *jeem*, so possibly it only has the sound *zae.*
11. Represents *seen* which has sometimes been changed to *zae* or <u>*chae*</u> and in Pashto to <u>*tsae*</u> or *zae.*
12. Represents <u>*sheen*</u>. This letter originally did not exist in Greek alphabet so the Kushanids created a letter to represent it.
13. Represents <u>*sean*</u> of Pashto. It is composed from the Pashto consonant cluster "shkh"

which is made up of (sh) and (kh). It is obvious that the Kushanids used the sound of this letter in much the same way in which the current Kandahari sound of "shkh" is pronounced. It was not just a "kh" in which case it probably had the figure "kh-x". Because the retroflex sound is found in Avesta, Sanskrit and Russian we can conclude that it has had a considerable historical background in Afghanistan and that its correct pronunciation is somewhere between (sh) and (kh).

14. Represents *kaf* as in *kard.*

15. Represents *gaf* as in *bag.*

16. Used for *nag* at the end of some Kushanid words.

17. Represents *lam*, although in Pashto and Persian, it has been changed to *dal* and *rae* in some words.

18. Represents *meem*. In the singular it has been used for possessive pronouns, sometimes between separators and sometimes connected to another word.

19. Represents *noon*. This letter was used in exactly the same context as it is used today.

20. Represents *wow*. It is expressed as a compressed (w) and occurs at the beginning of words.

21. Represents a silent *wow.*

22. Represents *hae*. This particular upsilon did not exist in the Greek alphabet and is considered to be a Kushanid invention.

23. Represents the compressed *ya* in Persian.

24. Represents the soft *ya* in Persian.

25. Represents the *fatha* or the vowel (á).

26. Represents the *dama* or the vowel (u).

27. Represents *kasra* or (é). It has been used both within words and as an annexed vowel as in the current usage. In Persian script, it is sometimes represented by a *ya*. Although the figure for *ya* has become smaller, and this diminution is placed at the end of each word which needs the annexed vowel.

28. The circle O has been used as a word separator or terminator and is frequently used in the inscription. A more detailed description of this symbol is provided in the next section.

From the letters and symbols of the inscription we can hypothesize that the Kushani language, from the point of view of sound similarities, belongs to the western Aryan language family. One supporting fact in this regard is that particular sounds of the eastern hemisphere (Indian) such as *tae, rrae, dal* and *ñoun* are not represented. Therefore, we can establish a theoretical boundary between the eastern and western languages and dialects of the Aryans. It is possible that the area between the Indus and Helmand rivers formed an isogloss, which we could say was Pashto. Furthermore, some other dialects spoken in the Badakshan mountains and Urmori, Pashaee and Nuristani have sounds similar to both the eastern and western language

families.

This inscription does not bear the most commonly used sounds of Pashto and Persian, such as *jeem, chae, zhae* and *ghein*. It is not clear whether these sounds did not originally exist in the Tukhari language or whether there was no need for their use in the 155 words represented in the text. Therefore, until other documents in this language are found, its alphabet is represented as found in the inscription.

4. Word Spacing

One issue to which European orientalists have not paid attention, while reading Kushanid inscriptions in Greek letters and the writing on coins, has been the signs which they have used to separate words. To divide the words they have used the symbol O at the end of each word. Henning, Maricq and others have shown concern that the reading of the Baghlan inscription is difficult because there is no spacing between the words, thus rendering it difficult to separate one word from the other.

However, in my studies of the Surkh Kotal, Rozgan and Jaghatu inscriptions, all of them written in Greek script, I have determined the existence of a word divider in the form of O. For if the word dividers are struck from the ends of the words, the new words obtained are very meaningful. In fact, these very same words are to be found in old Persian and Pashto literature. The sha equivalent of *shah* was read shao, its word divider having been included, and kird i.e. *kard* of Persian was read as kirdo, thus mutilating these two terms. Similarly, hundreds of other words have met the same fate in the spree of incorrect reading.

In all the discovered remains of the Greek script of Afghanistan, a small circle is observable at the end of each word. This circle serves as a word divider which should definitely not be considered the last letter of the word it follows. It sometimes also appears in the form of a small square, while word dividers in the form of (<) can be seen in the cuneiform characters of Achaemenian inscriptions. Therefore, in the Surkh Kotal inscription of Baghlan, the small circle should in no way whatsoever be considered a part of the word. The words bag lang, mandar, bag pOhr, ab, kand, nobixt, froman, borzmihr and Neican should not be read in their mutilated forms of bago lango, mandaro, bagO, pohro, abo, kando, nobixto, fromano, borzomihro and neicano. Indeed, how is it possible for all the words of a language to end in O and for no word not to end in it in several inscriptions containing a total of two hundred words?

Now we shall focus our attention on a number of coins of that period with legends in the Greek script. The symbol O was usually used for divider words or terminator words and it can be seen on the coins of Emperor Gondophares who ruled in the first century A.D. Again, it was sometimes written in the form of a square. However, on a coin belonging to Hermaeus (98 B.C.) Hermaiozo-o is inscribed under the figure of a king and is separated from Bazileuzzuter-o above it by the symbol O as shown.

From a general study of the Greco-Bactrian and Kushanid coins, it can be established that this symbol was seldom used with Greek words proper, but that when the Persian title _shahanshâ_ was used instead of the Greek Bacileyc Bacilewn, the word divider was placed beside it. In fact, the use of the word divider was one of the characteristics of the Greek script of the language of the Kushanid period. For instance:

• One of the coins carried this legend: Kaneshki Koshansha-o-nan-o-sha-o, with the word divider used at the end of the words. From this it is evident that the title of emperor was composed in three parts, namely, sha+nan+sha.

• On another coin is inscribed: Kaneshkisha-o. The word divider, as can be seen, is at the end of the word.

• A Kaneshki coin (circa 160 A.D.) carried the following legend: OOKSHKI KOSHANSHA-O-NAN-O-SHA-O.

• One of the most convincing proofs of the symbol "O" being a word divider or word terminator is that most of the Kushanid coins carry inscriptions of the names of gods, from which, with the deletion of the omicron, the original Pashto or Persian words are obtained. For instance:

• Orlagi on a coin of Kanishki Kushan Sha Nan Sha, from which _wardagi_ of Pashto has been derived.

• atsh on another coin of Kaniski Kushan Sha (_ãtash_ of Persian).

• MA on a coin of Kanishki (_mâh_ of Persian).

• ARDOXSH on a coin of Kanishki (Ardokhsh was the name of a god?).

• MIR on a coin of Kanishki (_mîr_ of Pashto and _mehr_ of Persian).

• WAD on a coin of Kanishki (_bâd_ of Persian).

• FAR on a coin of Okshki (_fâr_ of Persian), and

• WISH on several coins (_wêsh_ of Pashto).

All of these words prove that the terminal O is not an integral part of the word, for these words have preserved their original form even to this day. On the coins of later Sassanian kings discovered at Hadda and Bagram, Greek letters have also been sometimes used. On two of these coins, small in size on the obverse side is pictured the figure of a king with a Sassanian crown, while on the reverse side is a temple. The king faces to the right, and in front of him, starting at two o'clock, SHABOR has been inscribed with no omicron at the end. But, Cunningham[19] has described a coin which carries the same inscription, but with a terminal O, which he claims was minted in Balkh around 356 A.D. Thus, from the above, it can be inferred that the Sassanians of Persia sometimes did, and at other times did not use this symbol.

A study of the three inscriptions of Baghlan will show that the differences among them are

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[19] Numismatic Chronicle, 1892.

trivial. In the first, the words *sha* and *ma* have been inscribed with the word divider placed after the letter SHA-O and MA-O. But in the second inscription, the words have been written thus: MAY-O and SHAY-O. In the first instance, the words should be read as *shâ* and *mâ* and not as *shâo* and *mâo* because O is the word terminator. On the same basis, the words in the second inscription are *shâh* and *mâh* and not *shâho* and *mâho* as O is not the last letter of the words. It seems that at that time, also, these words had two written forms each, just as in Persian literature the word *shâh* is sometimes written as *shâ*. In the first and third inscriptions we have: SHA-O. But in the second one, as it was intended to add an upsilon to *shâ* and *mâ*, the upsilon was attached and the word divider added after it. This proves that O after the words *shâ* and *mâ* was not part of the original word. When it was intended to add the sound (h) or upsilon to the end of words, the word divider was placed after the upsilon and the words.

In addition to the three inscriptions just described, the word divider O is also seen in one of the Rozgan inscriptions which is readable. Bara-O-pan-O-Zoo-O-wyp-O-ron-O-Z mik?-O (The great prince Mir Sang Zmik?).

This symbol is also seen in an inscription at Jaghatu of Ghazna stating the Bhuddist Tri-Ratna:

NAMW-O-BOO   Reverence to the Buddha

NAMW-O-DHARMA   Reverence to the Dharma

NAMW-O-SANGA   Reverence to the Sangha

In Sughdi, the Tri-Ratna was written in the following manner, with no O at the end of the words Put, Darm and Sank. NM'W PWT. NM'W DRM. NM'W SANK (Reverence to the Buddha, reverence to piety and reverence to society). It should be noted that, in the Greek script, there are three word dividers between the six words, each word divider dividing the two words of a line.

In another Jaghatu inscription, the words and the word dividers are in the following relationship: BAG O SAGASISHAPOR O VIM O SHA O ULUGH. Doubt exists as to the correct reading of the second word. But according to the rules of the script, four word dividers have been placed among the five words, and in Persian it would read *bâg sagzishapor vim shâ ulugh*.

In the Islamic period, remnants of this word divider are seen in a few copies of the holy Quran. It has been used for separating verses from one another and has this very same O form. Diacritical marks and vowelization were not used in the old Kufic script. Actually, it was Abu-al-Doueli (died 96 H.) who used diacritical marks for vowelization, and it is thought that he may have copied them from the Caldians.[20] Moreover, according to Ibn-i-Kallikan Hajjaj, the governor of Iraq, employed punctuation to distinguish similar Arabic form.[21] Thus, from the preceding statements, it becomes evident that the Arabs had no need for vowelization and punctuation, but that in order to make the reading of Arabic easier for non-Arabs, they adopted the practices of

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[20] History of Islamic Civilization, III, p 80.

[21] Wafiyyat, I, p. 135.

punctuation and vowelization. For example, Khalil Ibn-i-Ahmad, who died in 170 H., arranged the Arabic letters in Kitabul-Ain in accordance with the Sanskrit alphabet.[22]

During the reign of Abd-al-Malik ibn Marwan Umavi, a point was placed at the beginning and end of verses of the holy Quran. Later this was changed to three points.[23] It appears that the three points were adopted from late Pahlavi script, because in Pahlavi, also, three points were used to separate sentences. In the oldest Pahlavi copy of the Yasna, housed in the Copenhagen Museum and written by Hirbad Mehraban Kaikhusrao, three points have been used to separate sentences.

In order to mark the beginning and end of Quranic verses, a scholar from Afghanistan, Mohammad Bin Thaifoor Sujawandi Ghaznavi, who died in 540 H. and wrote Kitab-ul-Qaqf wa al-Ibtida and Rumuz-ul-Quran used such a device. *Rumuz* means the symbols just described.[24] As far as is known, these symbols have not been used in the old Kufic copies of the Quran, but they became common in Khorasanian copies after the fourth century Hejera. The present system of the separation of Quranic verses is that of Sujawandi,[25] and it is quite probable that Sujawandi adopted the O symbol from ancient Kushanid works. Afterwards it became the custom of scribes and painters to add a variety of decorative marks to it and to paint in gold and many other colors.

5. Special Symbols

The last line of the Baghlan inscription at the end of words #154 and 155 carries two special symbols. These symbols are illustrated in the photograph of the inscription.

6. Grammar of the Kushani Language

An analysis of the words indicate that the form of some words ending with consonant letters or vowel sounds changes. In this respect the Kushani language is similar to Pashto and Sanskrit. This characteristic is less prevalent in Persian. In Pashto there are some governing words like *la, tâ, pur* by means of which the vowels at the end, and even in the middle of the words get transformed. For example *kor* (house) with the letter *lah* changes to *lah kora*. The word *kahole* (family) when used with *tah* changes into *kahola tah. In* Peshawar the word cinema when used along with *tah* changes into *cinemay tah*. Sometimes these changes occur in grammatical

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[22] History of Islamic Civilization, III, p. 115.
[23] Al-Ithqan, II, p. 171.
[24] Al-Ithqan, I, p. 84.
[25] Encyclopedia of Islam, IV, p. 54.

constructions, without governing words. For example, *sarray râghay* (the man came) with the use of *fatha* of the letter *rae* transforms to *sarray wa wayala* (the man said) and with *kasra* of *rae* becomes *ãa sarriya. This* is the same condition known as case in English grammar.

In the inscription Kaniska's name in #4 has been inscribed as Kaniskhko but in #11 Kanishki. Sometimes his coins carry his name as Kanishki Shah while elsewhere it is Kanishki Kushan Shan Nan Shan. The name of his son on one coin was written as Awishki Kushan Shan Nan Shan. This shows that the word Kanishka ending with an (a) was written in two ways: Kanishko and Kanishki. Similarly, the name of the head of the repair mission in #47 is inscribed Nokonzok. The same name in #143, in a modified case, is inscribed as Nokonzik in which case the O before K changed into an I. Thus we can say that #140, Kozgashki, too originally was Kozgashka. While used as a predicate of the word *pohr* the terminal letter (a) has been changed into an (i). However, this change occurred only in some words ending with special letters because we see in the inscription similar words like AB (water), MALIZ (fortress) and SAD written repeatedly but always in the same manner without any grammatical transformation. Thus it is clear that the law of transformation was not applied to all words but to some special words in specific cases.

Concerning an (a) at the end of the Kushanid names, Kanishka, Awishka, Kozgashka, it should be mentioned that they might be similar to Pashto names ending in (k) such as Khairak, Khatak, Hothak, Barak, Shaitak, Athak, Zmarak etc. The (k) at the end of these words, which exists both in Pashto and Persian, is used for greatness and praise. Though presently it is without any vowel sounds, in the past it had the sound of the vowel (a). In the History of Kashmir the author Kalhana (1148 A.D.) describes the names, Kanishka, Huvishka and Jouishka. In Kashmir there are three places called Kaishka Poora, Huvishka Poora and Jouishka Poora. Moreover, this book also give other names ending with (ka) like Janaka, Ashoka, Jalauka, Coltika, Rajanaka etc. This kind of transformation of words is currently used in Pahsto such as:

> *Kanishka wâey* (present subjective)
> *Kaniska wawayál* (past subjective)
> *Da Kanishko Shâhi* (predicate for plural)

In this case the Kushani language is similar to Pashto, a feature which is not seen in present day Persian.

7. Possessive and Modifier

a) Possessive in the Kushani language was shown with a special sign, an M symbol preceded and succeeded by a word divider O, connecting the two principle nouns i.e. #2 MALIZ, used as possessive to the word Kanishka which was written as MALIZ-O-M-O KANISHKO. This rule is similar to the one being used in Persian when the possessed is followed by the possessive. Meanwhile in the Kushani language in the possessive case the word Kanishka is changed to Kanishko. This is similar to the phrase ACACKO O-M-O SAD, formed by #115 and 116 and can be

called a possessive form. But since the origin of acacko is not known so, in this particular case, we cannot say for certain whether M is a part of the word itself or is a possessive sign.

b) Another possessive sign which is repeatedly noticed in this inscription is with the letter (i). This is similar to the *kasra-e izafi* in Persian. This possessive sign has been given a special place in the Kushani language i.e. possessed followed by a word divider succeeded by the possessive sign (i) such as LROHOMINAN-I-EIR (holy deity of the fire). The same is written in Persian as *parastinda-e astash*. At the same time the possessive (i) has also been used as *bin* (son) between #57 and 58 i.e. BOSAR-I-SHIZOGARG (Bosar son of Shizograg).

c) Sometimes a possessive composition has been used without any sign, a particle which is also common in today's Persian like Kozagahki pohr=Kozgashki pour, Borzmehr pohr=Borzmehr pour which in the current form would be Borzmehr zada (son of Borzmehr). Again we have the compound KHODI FROMAN formed from #145 and 146 meaning God's decree. In Persian it is written as *farman-e khoda*.

d) Descriptive compositions in the Kushani language are generally in the same form as Pashto where the description is preceded by the adjective such as #134 and 135. The composition of the words MASHT KHIRGOMAN meaning great forecourt and the nouns EIIOMAN NOBIKHT #148 and 149.

In the inscription adjective as a title comes after description such as #4 and 5 KANESHKO ANIND (Kanishko the auspicious) or KANISHKI NAMOBERG (Kanishka the famous).

8. Possessive and Honor kâf (k) and gâf (g)

The two letters were discussed earlier under grammatical conditions of the Kushani language and will be further discussed in #11. Nouns ending in (k) are quite numerous in the Kushani language. Likewise, their use in Pashto was discussed earlier. In some cases the letter (k) is written like (g). It seems that its sound may have been between (k) and (g). As explained in #11 in Pahlavi it was sometimes pronounced as (k) and at other times as (g). The Arabic pronunciation of such words shows that they heard the letter (g) but were unable to pronounce it correctly, thus changing its sound to a (j). Such as the word *karnamag,* was changed to *karnamaj* and the word *barnamag* was converted to *barnamaj.*

The letter (g) has sometimes been used in this inscription as possessive and honor as noticed in #24 ABABAG, #46 KHOADEOG, #69 IIOG, #119 ALBARG, and #125 HAROGH. I think the sound (i) was changed to kh. Such as the word *loyak* of the Islamic period which in this inscription has been written as *loikh*.

9. Quiescents at the Beginning of Words

There are no quiescents at the beginning of Persian words today, but like other Aryan languages its use is permissible in Pashto as in *storè, lmar, wlarr* etc. In this regard Pashto is similar to the Kushani language. The Surkh Kotal inscription has words whose initial letter C is silent in the past tense such as #25 and 31, but if they were to be changed into the present tense the silent letter would change to AC as in #40. Similarly, in the word FROMAN # 146, the F is silent.

10. Transformation of Kushani Letters to Persian and Pashto

Some words in the Kushani language ending with a (d) which were preceded by vowels like a, o and i, when transformed to Pahsto or Persian, the letter (d) was converted to a light (h) and was sometimes omitted altogether i.e.:

Kushani	Persian	Pashto
ot or od	*waw*	*aw*
pid	*bah*	*pah*
kid	*kéh*	*chè*
cad	*châh*	*tsah*
tad	*tâ*	*tâ*
kald	*kî*	*káléh*

However, this rule was not permissible in the verbs like the word *stâd*. Even today it is *istâd*, having a (d) at its end though preceded by the letter (a). Some Kushani words with minor changes are still extant in Persian such as:

Kushani	Persian	Pashto
akhesht	*khisht*	*khasta*
kird	*kard*	
poorwat	*parwarda*	*parwarâwa*
pohar	*pour*	*bour*
firoman	*farmân*	
noubikht	*noubakht*	
khirgoman	*khèrman*	

There are some words containing the letter (l) in the Kushani language which in Persian have been changed to a (d). The Kushani *maliz* meaning fortress has changed to *madizh* in Persian

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and *naushal* of Kushani has become *naushad* in Persian meaning a new place. Similarly *shâl* in Kushani is *shâd* in Persian and *sâd* in Pashto.

In some cases (l) of the Kushani language has changed into (r) in Persian and Pahsto such as *alow* in Kushani is *arwâ* in Persian and Pashto meaning soul. *Rawan* in Persian has the same meaning. While in other cases a Kushani word ending with (a) is used in Persian and Pashto with an (h) added to it such as *shâ* has been transformed to *shâh* and *mâ* to *mâh* in Persian.

11. Feminine Gender and Masculine Gender

In the Baghlan inscription feminine and masculine genders are absent. It seems that akin Persian there were no separate signs for the feminine and masculine genders in the Kushani language. This of course is different from Pashto, since Pashto has these genders. Consequently we can say that Pashto did not branch from the Kushani language while it seems that present day Persian is related to the Kushani language in which feminine and masculine genders are absent also.

12. Historical Perspective

a) The first founder of Baglang (Baghlan) was Bag Sha Kanishki Namwar Bahrawar, whose titles were Shah-e Buzurg and Khuda Shah which were originally Namo Barg (famous) and Bahrawar (fortunate). The writers of the inscription referred to him as the great king and the founder of Baghlan.

b) The fortress and the palace of Baghlan was called *maliz=mahadizh* (the great fortress). It was believed that Kaniskha built the palace in urgency. The same building was also called *mander* (temple).

c) As described in the section of #35, the specific name for the temple was Naushali=Nawshad.

d) After Kanishka's death the water of the temple decreased and the fire worshippers abandoned the palace.

e) In the spring of the 31st year of Kanishka's rule, around 160 A.D., when the late Bag Pohr Loikh Bosar son of Shizogarg, under the Kushanid empire was ruling as a king, a person named Nokonzik who had the rank of Karal Rang of the Mareg family, by the order of the king and Eiioman Nobikht, the prime minister, was summoned to go to Baglang. He was in charge of organizing the distribution of water and irrigation in the Kingdom. He was sent to Baghlan to repair the temple. Arriving there he dug a well and lined it with bricks. Moreover, an extensive area was annexed to the temple and it was rebuilt. With the repair of the well water was available in the Nawshad temple and it was reinhabited by the fire-worshipers.

f) As stated by the excavation team, this great building was later burned and extensively

damaged by a fire. During the excavations it was discovered that the central hall, corridor and even the porches of the building were all plastered with ashes. The mission stated that signs of fire were witnessed in both the original and the annexed buildings. It is believed that the temple was deliberately burned down during the invasion of Shahpoor the Second around 240 A.D.

g) The well mentioned in the inscription was discovered during the excavation process and remained intact. At the same time the remains of the stream, also mentioned in the inscription, was discovered in the area.

h) To repair the Nawshad temple and the great fortress, besides Nokonzik there were other members of the repair mission (or the repair committee) who have been named by the excavation team. The names of these persons appear at the end of the inscription together with the signatures of two persons, they are: Borzomihr, Kozgashki Pour, Mihraman and Amihraman am Borzomihr Pohr.

i) The inscription bears some names and titles of the royalties and government officers as follows:

Bag (the great king)

Khudi (khuday=shah=khoade)

Bag Pohr (baghpoor=fagfoor=king's son)

Loix (Loyak, a family name)

Karal Rang (kinarang, a military family title)

Mareg (a family name)

Astil gansigien=stàr gansigien? (head of gansigien)

Freistar Ab (distributor of water)

Eiioman (most probably the vazir)

Further details about these words are provided in their analysis.

j) After reading the inscription it becomes clear that the mother of the current Persian spoken in Afghanistan existed at the start of the Christian calendar. It also shows that Persian did not originate from Pahlavi but during its long life changed from its mother, i.e. the Kushani language, into the its present form. Meanwhile, Pashto was probably spoken at the time in different mountain valleys of Afghanistan since the influence of both languages, Pashto and Kushani, is seen in some words of the inscription.

13. Three Copies of the Inscription

During the excavation of the Nawshad temple and the fire place, a large one piece stone inscription and several small pieces were discovered. Putting together the pieces produced two other copies of the inscription. These had the same alphabet and peculiarities and were etched for the same purpose.

• The inscription on the largest stone, which I named the first copy, was in good condition and with a better writing style. The two other copies were probably inscribed at the same time or before or after the first copy.

• The second copy consisted of 21 pieces of stones, each with a different length and width. Some pieces were slightly damaged but with the help of the first copy the writing can be read. This copy has 27 lines with signatures appearing at the end. The script of this copy is similar to the first one. Its writing style is not refined as the first copy. The width of the pieces range from 270-294 mm but the length of the largest piece is over 405 mm.

• The third copy consists of 32 pieces of different sizes. The pieces are damaged and its writing style is not refined. For example, the first portion of each line starts with large letters, in the middle the letters are small and at the end they are of medium size. The signatures seen in the first and second copies are absent. Overall, it is not complete as the other two. Each piece has a width of 295 mm while the longest one is 490 mm. This copy has 27 lines.

It is not clear why three copies were inscribed for one text and why their writing style is different from one copy to the other? It is also not clear as to why the letters on the first copy are more refined than the other two? At this juncture the answer to these questions is not clear. It is possible that the first copy was written under close supervision of the repair mission with utmost care. It was probably inscribed by skilled craftsmen, while the other two were likely written by less skilled persons who were not talented scribers.

A similar example is the tomb of emperor Ahmad Shah. When the tomb was being built an inscription as prepared in a very beautiful Nastaliq style of writing. Later when the tomb was being repaired the inscription was repainted resulting in the loss of some of its elegance. It now looks quite different from its original artistic style.

The reading of the Baghlan inscription shows the following:

• Because of differences in writing style of the three copies we can without doubt say that the copies were not inscribed by one person at the same time.

• I am going to publish them as analyzed by E. Benveniste as the differences are explicit.

• It is noteworthy that the pieces of the second and third copy were found in the wall of the well mentioned in the inscription. The fact is that the pieces were used as building material in the well. This leads to two conclusions. First, during a later time, when the temple was being repaired the builders considered the tablets as construction stones and used them in the well as building material. Second, it is possible, when Nokonzok, was repairing the temple he wanted to refine the inscription also. He probably ordered the inscription to be etched but finding the first two copies not to standard the pieces were discarded and used as building material. On the other hand he probably ordered that the larger piece be inscribed with care and in good writing. Finding that the other two tablets were not written in a refined style they were used to repair the well. It is fortunate that after 1800 years we have at our disposal all three copies.

In this treatise a full description and analysis of each word of the inscription from the view

point of history, philology and grammar is provided.

Analysis of the Words

1. ΕΙΔ (èid)

In old Persian and Avesta *ida* means here. Similarly *aita* in old Persian means this.[26] In Herawi dialect of Dari the same word existed as *èiz=èid* which is used in Tabakat-al-Sufia repeatedly and it means is i.e.

> *âw pîshîne kasy èiz* (p. 16,11,15) he is before somebody.
> *khana haq èiz* (p. 283) it is the house of justice.
> *sheikh sham èiz* (p. 154) the sheikh is a prince.

Aîtan in Pahlavi was used as an infinitive meaning to be and *ait* was its singular for the third person meaning is.[27]

J. Kent, professor of Indo-European languages at Pennsylvania University states that a suffix for the singular third person in Indo-European languages was *eti, iti* in Avesta, *ati* in Sanskrit and *aity* in old Persian.[28]

Thus *èid* of the Kushani language which meant is or here or this is can be considered the same as *èid* in Herawi dialect of Dari. In Kandahari Pashto *a<u>ay</u> dêi* means this is. In the inscription there are several words similar to *èid* such as SID #8, KID #50 and 60, STAD #25 and PID #68 and 90. The (d) at the end of these words used after an (i), as a result of transformation of the word, is silent. Thus today in Persian and Pashto SID exists as <u>chi</u>=<u>ch</u>ê. An affirmative connector, KID is like *ka=ki.* STAD is like *asè=hasè* (like this) in Pashto. EID of Kushani with a silent (d) transformed into *aî* in Pashto. *hî=aî* are both used in the demonstrative case i.e. *aî <u>khw</u>â=hî <u>khw</u>â* (this way). In Persian it is as *aî taraf. aî* in Persian is used as an abbreviation i.e. *eîder (eî+dar)* here; *aîdoon (aî+doon)* like this *aîrâ (aî+râ)* this one; *azyrâ* or *zèra* because.

In Pahlavi too *aî* is a special particle. *ar-aî* and *chi raî* both meant for this. The meaning of *ayn* and *râ* is the same as *aîrâ* –they were originally separate from each other. In fact in Persian the words *airâ=airâk=azirak=azirâ* are all of the same root. Naser Khusrow says: [29]

> *neko samar shao airaâk*
> *mardum bajuz samar naest*
> Be virtuous for this reason *(airâk)*
> Without it there is no fortune.

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[26] Old Persian, p. 164-174.
[27] Ardsher Bâbâkan, p. 64.
[28] Old Persian, p. 75, 200.
[29] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 406.

In another verse he says:

> *nayaram ki yaram bood jahil airâk*
>
> *kera jahal yaraast yar ast marash*
>
> I mention not that my love was ignorant for this *(aîra)*,
>
> One who is ignorant is the serpent's friend.

2. ΜΑΛΙΖ (mâléz)

This word is composed of two parts *mâ+liz=mahâ+da<u>zh</u>* (great fortress). It has been used seven times in the inscription with the same spelling i.e. in #16, 23, 44, 79, 95, 112 and 126. Henning read it as *madiz*. He believes that it originated from the old Iranian word *diza* meaning fortress. As an initial interpretation, Henning suggested it meant the acropolis of Greek language, while it means a fortress.

As far as I am concerned, the first portion of the word MA corresponds to *maha* in Sanskrit which means great. Its examples are seen in the words *macheen* (great China), *maha baharat* (great Baharat), *mahakhuna* or *maha kahul* (of great dynasty) and *maharaja* (great king). Farrukhi says: [30]

From great China *(macheen)* to Rome, Russia and Saqlab
All the lands belong to the great Khan.

Asadi Tousi another Persian poet has used the word *mihraj* as follows:[31]

There was a king in India by the name of Mihraj
A great king whose wish prevailed all over.

In fact the word is the same as *meh* in Pahlavi, *mathiyah* in old Persian, *masao* in Avesta and *mêshr* in Pashto. In all these languages it means great and greater.[32] This is why Abu Raihan Beruni translated *macheen* into Arabic as *assinul uzmâ* (the Great China).[33] The first part of the word is used in Afghanistan as the name of places like Mashour, south of the city of Kandahar. *ma+<u>sh</u>our* meant great city which is similar to Ba<u>gh</u>shour, a place north of Herat meaning the king's city.[34]

Regarding the second portion of the word *lîz*, Henning believes it is the *diza* of old Persian which in Sanskrit is *dehi* (fortress), and *uzdaeza* in Avesta meaning to pile upon and *diz* in

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[30] Divan-e Farrukhi, p. 25.

[31] Garshasp Nama, p. 63.

[32] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 2058.

[33] Kitab Al-Hind, p. 166.

[34] Hudud-al-àlam, p. 58.

Pahlavi.[35]

The changing of (l) in Kushani words to (d) in Dari was quite common as revealed in the inscription such as #35, 64 and 119. Thus the Kushani *liz* has been converted to *diz* (meaning a fortress).

Manuchihri says:

Safeguad your friend from the deceit of time

In one thousand stone fortresses and one hundred thousand *dizî*[36]

If we combine the two portions of the word i.e. *maha+diz* we get *dazh buzurg* meaning a great fortress. This shows that the temple of Surkh Kotal had a great fortress as well.[37]

3. м

This symbol represents a connective possessive letter and has been used in several instances in the inscription (refer to #15 and 131). It is also present in another Surkh Kotal inscription in Palamad writing. Currently *mè* as a singular and *mû* for plural are used in Pahsto as a possessive connector or possessive pronoun. In Persian it is used with the possessive such as *kitâbam* (my book).

In the Kushani language (m) as a possessive connector was used between the possessive and possessed i.e. *madiz-m-kaneshko* meaning Kanishka's fortress. It should be mentioned that the name Kanishka has been written as Kaneshko in #4 and Kaneshki in #11. The changing of (a) at the end of the word Kanishka occurred according to the grammatical case in the Kushani language. Kanishka's name on his coins is inscribed as follows:sha-o-nan-o-sha-o-Kaneshki-Kushan meaning The Kushanid emperor Kanishka. On another coin it was inscribed as sha-o-Kaneshki.[38]

Thus while the modified, king, was used before the name Kanishka it was converted to Kanishki and contrary, when the modified was used before its modifier as in #4, the word became Kanishko. This change in Kushani language is similar to Pashto.

4. ΚΑΝΗþΚΟ (káneshko)

This word was discussed in #3.

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[35] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 850. *Diz-liz* is frequently seen in the names of Afghan cities i.e. Gardiz, Shahliz. The word *firdous* has been used twice in Avesta as *pairi-dacza* (Venedad Fargard 3, verse 18, Fargard 5, verse 49). With the same meaning we find words in different languages such as *paradeisos* in Greek, *pardisu* in Akhdi, and *pardes* in Ebri. In Arabic this word through Arami and Suryani, exixted as *firdous* which means garden. Meanwhile, the word in French is paradis, in English paradise and the *faliz* of Persian is of the same nature and root.

[36] Divan of Menochehri, p. 139.

[37] The word *daes* (meaning home and country) should be mentioned in this regard. But in this case (s) changes to (z). Similarly, in the word *diah* the (s) has been converted to an (h) i.e. *dah+deh*. Thus it looks that there is a relation between *diz=dis=diah*. This can be seen clearly in the words *gardiz=ghardiz=ghardiz* meaning a forteess on the mountain. The word *gardiz* has been used in Zain-ul-Akhbar of Gardizi.

[38] Tarekh-e Afghanistan, Vol. 1, p. 201, 224.

5. ΛΝΙΝΔ (ànénd)

Previously the word was read as *anindo* together with the word divider. It was believed that it originated from *wan* (conquering and invading). Schlumberger relates it to the goddess of conquest.

In reality this modifier is *anind* which has been mentioned with the names of Buddhist and Brahman personalities in Afghanistan and India. Hiuan Tsang in his memoirs used the word *anind* with several Buddist names.[39] Farrukhi mentions a king, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, as Ninda. His dynasty was referred to as Nindaeyan.

> In this land he came to claim its borders
> With the cheating of Ninda, the villan.[40]

Again he says:

> He has arisen the Nindayean against you,
> Who are restless, sleepless and languid. [41]

From the writings of Gardizi it is clear that when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (396 H). was on his way to invade Multan, it is possible that in Waîhind, along the banks of the Indus, a king by the name of Anindpal, son of Jaypal ruled in the area. Arriving with his army Sultan Mahmud ousted him from the throne and he retreated to Kashmir.[42]

The name Anindpal has the same origin as *anind*. Dari and Pashto literary documents show that *anind* is deeply rooted in the languages of Afghanistan. In Pashto it means cheerful, happiness, enjoyment and pride. Khushal Khan says:[43]

> There is much anxiety from the pious,
> When the dervish cheers *(ãnénd kâ)* the sweeper.

Similarly Abdul Kader Khan says:[44]

> For what purpose people advise us
> Through his wisdom every man is proud *(kâ ãnánduna)*.

As expressed in the following couplet of Hafez *ánénd* means enjoyment and beΓΓauty in Persian also.

> Long hair and a waistline does not make a prince
> Be the subject of one who has grace and beauty *(ãnî)*.[45]

Thus if we combine *ãn* with the suffix *ánd* it converts to *anind* meaning enjoyment, pleasure and happiness. It is similar to *gazand* and <u>*dzáland*</u> of Pashto. Since the word is composed

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[39] Memoirs of Hsuan Tsang, p. 8,12, 13, 14, 17, 99, 193.

[40] Divan-e Farrukhi, p. 52.

[41] Divan-e Farrukhi, p. 83.

[42] Zain-ul-Akhbar, p. 53.

[43] Divan of Khushal Khan Khatak, p. 4.

[44] Divan of Abdul Kader Khan, p. 98.

[45] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 64.

according to the rules of the languages of Afghanistan, and has deep roots in the Afghan languages, there is no reason to consider it of foreign origin.

6, 7 ΒΑΓ ΛΑΝΓ (bág láng=Baghlân)

This name which has been repeatedly used in the inscription is composed of two parts. *Bag, bagha* or *baga* in all ancient Aryan languages means *khudaî* (god or king). In old Persian and Avesta the word was *baga* and *bahaga* in Sanskrit,[46] and both cases were used in ancient names. In Russian too *bagh* means God.

The use of *bagh* is still evident in the names of places such as Baghpour (its Arabicised form is Faghfour meaning king's son), Baghistan (the current Bisotoon of Persian (which means God's or king's place), Baghdad, Baghshoor, Baghni, Baghlan, Baghar (today's Daizangi), Baghavi (Sare Pul in Shiberghan), Baghak (Samangan), Baghain (Khurm), Baghawardan (Herat), which in Avesta has been written as Baghanyast.

However, this word is still alive in Pashto as *bag* in its original form of the Kushani language. It means, great powerful and muscular. The same form of the word is also annexed with names of places like Bagram, Bagrami (in Kabul), Bagal (Herat), Bagla (Ghazna), Baghlag (Daizangi), Baga Pai (Taluqan) and Bagà (Tarnak).

Shamsuddin Kakarr a Pashto poet from Kandahar says:

> My fortune is bad even though
>
> From outside it appears great (*bág*).[47]

In Persian literature the word has the same meaning. Maulana Balkhi says:

> Like bleeding a mosquito in the air
>
> Why do you boast of kings and great (*bág*) people.[48]

From the writings of Mahmud Kashghari, 466 H. it is evident that the word *bágh* had entered the Turkish language of the time meaning an amir.[49] Naser Khusrau says:

> Now every ignoble, slave and servant
>
> Claims to be a matron, wrestler and great (*bág*) personality. [50]

As *bágh* originally existed in the old languages of Avesta, Sanskrit and old Persian it is possible that the word infiltrated Turkish because the Aryans, on different occasions, were in contact with Turkish tribes from Tukharistan to Khutan. However, the meaning of the word in the Indo-Iranian languages of the Iranian plateau was originally God. Later its meaning converted to great and majestic and was used as a title for kings and rulers as they considered themselves as gods or as great rulers. The words *khudaî* and *khudawand* have been used in nouns such as

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[46]   Old Persian, p. 199.

[47]   Divan of Shamsuddin, Kabul, p. 66.

[48]   Masnavi, first part, p. 48.

[49]   Lughat-al-Turk, Istanbul, Vol. 1, p. 50.

[50]   Divan-e Naser Khusrao, p. 469.

Kabul Khudaî, Zabul Khudaî, Gozgan Khuda, Saman Khuda, Bukhara Khuda.[51]

In Pashto the word was used for names of people also. In 1160 H., the prime minister of Emperor Ahmad Shah was known as Sardar Wali Khan Bamizai, but his actual name was Bagey Khan which is in fact related to the *bágh* of the Surkh Kotal inscription. The Hindi *bagwan* (god) is also from the same root.

The second part of the word *ang* also seems to be old. It exists at the end of some names of places to this day such as Salang (a valley in the heart of the Hindukush range), Bashlang (Helmand valley), Alishang (Laghman), Mastang (Baluchistan), Zarang (Seistan), Poshang (west of Herat), Gerang (a city in Merv), and Warang (a pass in Ghor). Arab geographers changed *ang* to *anj* and consequently some of the aforementioned names were Arabicised and pronounced as Foshanj, Bashlanj, Zaranj etc.[52]

According to Henning, the origin of Bag-lang is in the Iranian word *baga-danka*. Due to the following reasons the second part of the word means a fire:

• The remains of a fire alter and sacred fires were witnessed in the temple of Surkh Kotal.

• The coins of some Kushanid kings of the Hindukush valleys bear on one side a fire-worshipping temple.

• *Ang* meant fire in Veda which was in the form of *angi*, the god of fire. During the later Indo-Iranian period names such as *azar* (the angel which keeps fire), *athr* in Avesta, *atar* in old Persian, *atur* in Pahlavi and *awr* in Pashto became known.[53] In the 17th chapter of Bandhashan, a fire-worshipping temple has been mentioned which was named Azar-firo Bagh (the glorious fire of god). It is believed that the temple was located on a mountain called Koh-e Roshan (Roshan mountain) of Kabulistan.[54] The location of this mountain is not known now. However, since in the structure of its ancient name *ang* occurs as *azar* as the same *bágh* (god), one might surmise that it might be the Surkh Kotal temple. At present a mountain in Jurm of Badakshan is called Roshan mountain. It is possible that in the past the name referred to a vast area and now, like other geographical names, it applies to a smaller area. There is also the possibility that the Baghlan of that time was officially a part of Kabulistan as it is today. Azar-firo Bagh has the same meaning as Bag-Lang, both of which mean a fire temple of god. It may be best to avoid a hasty designation concerning the location of Bag-Lang in the same manner as has been designated to the location in Badakshan of Roshan Mountain. We can thus surmise that the temple of glorious fire of god did not exist in the mountains of Kabulistan, but somewhere else in this land, especially in view of the fact that this temple carried the same ancient *ang* interpreted as *azar* meaning *atash* (fire).

• By drawing upon some linguistic factors we can provide further substance to the meaning of

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[51] Al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik of Ibn Khardazbah, p. 39, Shahnama of Firdowsi and Zain-ul-Akhbar.

[52] Ahsan-al-Taqaseem, p. 306. 312; Al-masalik wa al-Mamalik of Istakhri, p. 239.

[53] Old Persian pp. 166; Burhan-e Qatà,footnotes, p. 22.

[54] Yasna 1, p. 132.

ang. The word *duzakh* (hell) in later Avesta has been written as *duzhanghu*. Its components are *dazh* meaning bad and *anghu* meaning fire, which when combined means bad-fire.[55] It is the same *ang* of the Kushani language.

• *Ang* has its roots in the present languages of Afghanistan. In Pashto there are several words in which it occurs, i.e. *angâr*, and *angârah*, both of which mean light and bright-fire. In the first part of these words is the same historical *ang* of the Kushani language. In addition, *angél* in Pashto means fervor and sharpness which are considered to be qualities of fire. *Angâza*, also means sharpness and *angulâ* meaning sharp voice is from the same family of words. Presumably, the English anger, angry and angel, relating to light and brightness, may have the same root.[56]

Mullah Faiz Mohammad Kaka<u>rr</u>, a contemporary of Emperor Ahmad Shah, who was from Zhob at the foothills of the Suleiman mountain, has used the word exactly in this manner:

My beloved nailed me to the leopard's claw

My heart burns like a kindle with a flame *(balâng)*.

The word *balâng* is composed of two components *bal* meaning a flame and luminous and *âng* meaning fire. So the meaning of the couplet is my heart burns like a kindle in the luminous fire. Hence the word *balâng* means bright and luminous fire.

The Sughdi version of Bagh-Lang was Baghdang and its Iranian version Baghdanka. In both cases there is a (d) between *bagh* and *ang*. This (d) in Pashto sometimes changes into (l) such as *dewar=dewal* (wall) and *gharbél=ghalbél* (sieve). Words #2, 38, 64 and 119 in the inscription are of this nature. We see that the structure of this word in Pashto is the reverse composite while its direct composite is *de bágh ang* (god's fire). Its structure may have reversed later according to the rules of Afghan dialects as *bagh-dang*, *baddang*, and *baghlang*.

With the passing of time some words changed their original composition among which Baghlang is of this nature. In fact, its original feature was Baghlang but it changed to Baghlan. Such a phenomenon is sometimes seen in the names of cities also. As an example we can mention Badakshan, which in the 2nd century B.C. was Ta-nag-lang. Later on in the notes of Hiuan Tsang (630 A.D.) it was recorded as Pu-tu-ching-na. And Ywan Shi noted it as Ba-da-ha-shing.[57] The last part of the word *ang* changed to *ãn* thus we have Badakshan.

Another example is the town of Sang Chahrak of the Gozganan mountains. Past geographers recorded it as San Charak, a form still used today.[58] This case is seen in other names of places in Afghanistan i.e. Ghording, in Khakriz north of Kandahar, Yakding, east of Naghlo,[59] Kotal-e

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[55] Yashta 2, p. 170, Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 896.

[56] The word *angisht* meaning bright and luminous fire is still used in Kohistan and Panjshir, north of Kabul. In Latin there is the word ignite meaning to light or to fire, and it has many components in European languages.

[57] Mediaeval Research in Chinese Sources.

[58] Al-masalik wa al-Mamalik of Istakhri, p. 270; Hudud-al-`Alam, p. 60, 91.

[59] Qamoos Jughrafia-e Afghanistan III, p. 92 and IV, p. 226.

Badinj, between Laghman and Ushtorgram[60] and Kotal-e Soolang, north of Kabul between Kohistan and Nijrab.

While we cannot be certain about the structure of these words but after studying a series of similar words we can come to some conclusions on the basis of scientific principles.

8. CIΔ (sîd)

Henning considers this word to be an interrogative pronoun synonymous to which and what of English and similar to KID #50 and 60. As the meaning of EID (#1) was explained, CID is also a relative adverb. In the later dialects of this land the (d) which appears after an (I) in CID, like #24, 50 and 60, became silent through time with the result that the CID changed to *sî=chî=chéh*, relative pronouns found in Pashto and Persian. In fact the pronoun *chî* still used by certain Pashtoon tribes of Afghanistan is pronounced as *sî*. It appears exactly in the same form in *hasî* in Pashto. After the word divider (O) which separated CID from the following word an (I) appears in the inscription. It seems that this (i) is the same as *yey* in Pashto which is a particle of the subject, the object and the possessive. Even today after *chî* Pashto speakers use it in their conversation and writing such as *chî yey wakhorr* (after eating). Similarly, (i) has been used several other times in the inscription in #32, 34, 47, 48, 53, 55, 57, 58, 68, 103, 107 and 144. In all cases it is used after the word divider.

9. BAΓ (bág, god and great)

This word was described in detail in #6 and it could be added here that it is sometimes used as a modifier of the succeeding word, king i.e. bág-shah which means great king or it can be translated as God's king.

10. þA (<u>sh</u>â, <u>sh</u>âh)

The Greek alphabet does not have a letter which represents the sound <u>sh</u>. In the inscription this sound is represented with a special symbol resembling a (|). It seems that the Kushanids created a letter to represent <u>sh</u>. As the letter (P) in Greek represents rho (r) so this word was also mistakenly read by some as *rawo* together with the word divider. Consequently, it was mistakenly considered to be the Indian words *row* and *raî*. SA is repeatedly used in this inscription and is one of those words with an (h) occurring at the end. In olden times the (h) was deleted thus *<u>sh</u>inâh* was written as *<u>sh</u>inâ* and *pad<u>sh</u>âh* was written as *pad<u>sh</u>a*. Fakhr Gurgani says:

Thanks and goodwill to that king *(<u>sh</u>â)*
Who created the world and us.[61]

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[60] Akbar Nama and Tabakat-e Akbari.

[61] Wais wa Ramin, 1.

It seems that in some Kushanid words when the (h) was preceded by an (a) the (h) was deleted. Besides *shâh* another example of this nature is the word *ma*, written in the inscription without an (h) #73. However, in the second copy the words *shah* and *mah* were inscribed with an (h) like they are written now. It seems that even at that time the words were sometimes written with an (h) while in other instances the (h) was deleted.

Words #9 and 10, BAG SHA are modifiers for the succeeding word which is KANISHKI. Put together they mean Kanishka the great king. The word SHA is also used later in #53 and on Kanishka's coins.

11. ΚΑΝΗϷΚΙ ΝΑΜΟΒΑΡΓ (káne*shk*î nâmûbárg)

Kaniskha's name, when composed with Namobarg, has been written as KanEsHKi explained in #4 of this analysis. Maricq and Henning both read Kaneshki together with the succeeding word namobarg. However, Maricq believes that there is no relation between the composite sections of namobarg, *namo* and *barg*. But Henning is of the opinion that *barg* means product while *bârág* means a vessel or wall. Hennning also mentions that *bárg* as a composite means being named.

KanESHki Namobarg is an ancient composite of *Kanishka-i namdar* and *namwar* (the famous and popular Kanishka). As no divider sign exists between the components of the composite, *Kanishka+namo+barg*, it can be called a compound objective. Also *nâmûbárg* is similar to the current *namwar* (famous) and *nambar* (popular). The word *nám* (name) which is written as *num* and *nâma* in Pashto has an established foundation in ancient Aryan languages. In old Persian it is *nâmán*, the last letter being silent. In Avesta and Sanskrit also it is *nâmán. Noman* in Latin and *nama* in Khutani language.[62] The second part of the word *bárg* is a possessive suffix linked to *bár* or *wár* and has its roots in *bár* and *burdan*. In Persian *nâm bard* and *nâm burda* meaning famous and popular are of the same root. In Pahlavi it was *nâmburtar*. Ferdowsi says:

> None of the crowned died as such,
>
> As you the famous *(nâmburdar)* did.[63]

Thus *nâmbar=nâmwar* means famous and popular and in the above phrase modifies the word Kanishka. The same modifier is used as *numworr=numworray* in Pashto.

The sound (g) at the end of the word existed in several ancient Pahlavi names and in the inscription it has been used in #24, 49 and 119. Among the verses of the Manavids, discovered in Turfan, one praises the light-tree in which *poor mâhi barazag* (full moon) has been mentioned.

Some diminutive and undiminutive nouns in Pahlavi ended with a (k), whereas today a silent (h) is found i.e. *bandak, dastak* and *gandak* in Pahlavi which in Persian have become *bandah, dastah* and *gandah*.[64] Numerous words nowadays written with a silent (h) were written with a final

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[62] Old Persian, p. 193.

[63] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 2105.

[64] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 107, 303.

(g) during the Sassanid period. Hazar Bandag was the title of Mehre Nersa. *Dihig* (leader of the village), *payagan salar* (foot soldier commander), *tanurig* (armored plated) and *zhindag* (huge elephant). *Karnameh* is another word which was pronounced with a terminal (g) as *karnamag*. But the Arabs changed the (g) to a (j) in which case it was pronounced as *karnamaj*. It is quite probable that the (g) at the end of such words was used later in Pashto and Persian as (k). Several examples are seen in Pashto words such as *barak, atshak, khatak, shitak, smarak, shirak, hotak* and *babrak* etc. This shows the closeness between Pashto and Kushani language in this specific aspect and unlike Pahlavi in which this (k) or (g) occurred at the end of words in Persian the words end with a silent (h). In the Kushani language and Pashto, its use at the end of words is without condition and implies a possessive case.

Mehre Nersa. *Dihig* (leader of the village), *payagan sâlâr* (foot soldier commander), *tanurig* (armored plated) and *zhindag* (huge elephant). *Karnameh* is another word which was pronounced with a terminal (g) as *karnamag*. But the Arabs changed the (g) to a (j) in which case it was pronounced as *karnamaj*. It is quite probable that the (g) at the end of such words was used later in Pashto and Persian as (k). Several examples are seen in Pashto words such as *barak, atshak, khatak, shitak, smarak, shirak, hotak* and *babrak* etc. This shows the closeness between Pashto and Kushani language in this specific aspect and unlike Pahlavi in which this (k) or (g) occurred at the end of words in Persian the words end with a silent (h). In the Kushani language and Pashto, its use at the end of words is without condition and implies a possessive case.

12. ΚΙΡΔ (kérd=kárd)

This word is the same as *kárd* of Persian used at the present time. It has its root in *kárdan*, which beside meaning to do and action in olden times also was used to mean to build. In Avesta *wara* conveys the meaning and name of the first building built by Yama (Jamshid) in Balkh and *warjám kard* [65] means the wall (*wara* or *bara*) built by Jam. In old Persian *kárta=kárd* was used at the end of the names of buildings and cities with the meaning built by such as Parsa Karta *(azargad)*, Bilash Kard, Khisrow Kard etc. Ferdowsi used the word *kárdan* with the same meaning as used in the inscription:

       I have made *(kardám)* the world pure of brawlings,

       I have made *(kardám)* numerous cities and fortresses.[66]

    In Herawi dialect of Dari *kárd* has been used to mean to build such as *ãn <u>kh</u>anâqah ramlah bikárd* [67] meaning he built Ramla's monastery.

    As a result the sentence BAG SHA KANESHKI NAMOBARG KIRD, relating to #9-12, means that it was built by the great and famous Kanishka. Later the verb FROGIRD (#17) has been used

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[65]   Vendidad, second Fergerd.

[66]   Shahnâma, Vol. 1, Couplet # 4718.

[67]   Tabaqat-e Sufia, p. 9.

which probably means to complete and to finish in which case it might be concluded that KIRD meant to build and FROGIRD meant completion.

13. TAΔI (tâdî)

Maricq misinterpreted this word considering it similar to #18, 78 and 81. His interpretation is not accepted by Henning either. In fact there is a difference between the spelling of TADI and # 18, 78 and 81. While TADI ends with an (i) the other words end with an (ei). Hence they cannot be considered the same. In my opinion TADI is the object of the succeeding verb, OKID (#14). The word *tâdî*, which means soon and hurry, exists with the same structure in modern Pashto.

14. OKEΔ (ukéd)

This word is the past tense of *ukèdal=kèdal* of Pashto which is used today by Pashto speakers beyond the Khyber. *Ukéd* means done or being done. TADI OKID when conjoined means it was hurried. The succeeding words of the inscription from #15-17 are modifying *ukéd*. [68]

Maricq thinks that this word is another structure of KIRD used in #50 and 60 of the inscription. But Henning does not agree with his view and states that the adverb KID is a connector. It is highly improbable that one word be written with two different spellings and the O at the beginning of the word be omitted. It is worth mentioning that the spelling of this word in the first and third copies is OKID but in the second copy it is OKED in which case because of the similarity of the first and third, OKID may be correct.

15. ΦΟΡΔΑΜC (fordáms)

Both Henning and Maricq consider this word to be close to *fratama* in old Persian and *fratema* in Avesta and Sanskrit, in both cases meaning foremost.[69] An adjective (c) or adverbial (c) has been added to it. In Soghdi it means first. Accepting the above one can come to the conclusion that this word is the same as *budam=bar, haman dam* of Persian and *pur dam=pur, hagha dam* of Pashto both meaning at that time. At the end of the word an adverbial c=z of Pashto is added. Thus it becomes *pardams* meaning at that time or first and immediately. In this case the preceding sentence TADI OKID supports this line of reasoning regarding its use.

16. MAΔIZ (mâléz)

This word was discussed in detail in #2 of this analysis meaning a fortress.

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[68] Pashto Qamoos, Vol. 1, p. 225.

[69] Old Persian, 197.

17. ΦΡΟΓΙΡΔ (frogérd)

Maricq considers this word to be close to *frakarta* which meant completed. Here FROGIRD with the terminal (g) means it has been completed and used in the past particle. Thus the meaning of #15 to 17 FORDAMEC MALIZ FROGIRD is: first the fortress was completed. For further explanation refer to #36.

18. ΤΑΔΕΙ (tâdéî)

Henning recognizes this word, which is repeated in # 78 and 81, as consisting of the TAD of #32 and 37, to which has been attached the third person singular pronoun which is also (éy) in Pashto. This word, then, would be *tah yè* in Pashto (special Kandahar usage similar to Persian, *tâdéî* in Kushani and *tâ azîn=tâkeh* (until that) in Persian, and Henning's analysis seems correct.

19. ΜΑΝΔΑΡ (mándár)

Mandar is still used in Hindi and Pashto and means temple or place of worship. The origin of *mán* can be found in the *mán* and *mánel* of Pashto which means accepting, obeying and worshipping.

20. ΑΒ (ãb)

This is the Persian word *ãb* (water) still in use. The word has been repeatedly used in #38, 41, 49 and 97 of the inscription.

21. ΝΙΣΤΟΧΟΤ (nésto<u>kh</u>ot)

The first portion of the word is the same as *néist* of Persian and *nist* of Pashto while the second part OXOT appears to originate from the word *khátel* of Pashto. *Oxot* in Pashto is the past tense for the third person. Now if we put together the word *nist* with *oxot* the word means rare and finished. Henning considers its meaning to be the water dried out which is an approximation but its actual meaning is to vanish away.

   The meaning of the sentence from #18 to 21 consequently is: TADEI MANDAR AB NICTOXOT: from the time when the water of this temple vanished.

22. ΑΣΙΔ (áséd)

In #1 it was explained that after (i) in our modern language, the final (d) of this type of words is silent and unpronounced. So if we leave off the (d), *asî* remains as we have in modern Pashto *hasè* meaning thus, in this way. *Asî* was also used in old Persian with the meaning of then (the time when).[70] So Kushani ACID is a form of *asî=hasè* (thus). In #8 SID also was changed into the

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[70] Old Persian, pp 165.

declarative *si=chè* (what), so that by the same principle ACID should become *asî*.

23. ΜΑΛΙΖ (mâléz)
Explained in # 2.

24. ΑΒΑΒΓ (ãb ãbag)
Henning and Maricq, without any insight into the root of this word give its meaning as waterless or without water. They are of the opinion it is composed from the component of *ãb* meaning water. No similar word is found in Persian or Pashto in which case it might be a dead word. However, from its use in the script we can say it means without water and dried out. Concerning the use of the terminal (g) see #11.

25. ϹΤΑΔ (stâd)
This word comes from *sta* of Avesta, *stha* of Sanskrit, and *sisto* of Latin all of which mean to stop and remain.[71] In current Persian usage it is *estâd*. The components of the infinitive *estâdan* were used from early times in Avesta and Pahlavi as an auxiliary verb, i.e. *dât estât hind (dâdah estâdah ând)*.[72] In the book of Ardavarj Nama it is said: *avestâ râ andár sitakhre pâpakân pah daz napast nihaz estâd*.[73] In the above sentence the word is used with the same meaning as was used in old times. An example is seen in the following couplet of Manuchihri (died in 432 H.): [74]

> As the north wind felt a glimpse of winter,
> It stopped *(estâd)* in its place like a restless spy.

Similarly, Baihaqi, a scholar of the Ghaznavid period writes: *hawa sakht garm estâda bûd*, which means the weather was hot.[75] From these examples it can be concluded that ABABAG STAD of Kushani language is the same as *stâd* used as a past perfect for the third person. It occurs in #31 and 120 also, but there it is used as a verb and not as an auxiliary verb. Thus the meaning of the sentence from #22 to 25, ACID MALIZ ABABG STAD is: this way the fortress remained without water.

26. ΟΔ (aud=wa of Persian, aw of Pashto)
This word is found as a connector at the beginning or between two words and was used similarly in northern Pahlavi. In a verse of praise discovered in Turfan, concerning the light-tree, the word

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[71] Old Persian, p. 210.

[72] Dastan-e Jam, p. 50.

[73] Nama-e Tansar, p. 54.

[74] Divan-e Menocheri, p. 4.

[75] Tarekh-e Baihaqi, 1, p. 569.

OD has been repeatedly used meaning and.[76] This shows that the (d) at the end of #8, 22, 50, 68 and 90 has been transformed to a *wa* in Persian and *aw* in Pashto. Such silent use of (d) is also seen in other words. In the inscription OD has been used as a connector in # 70, 100 and 133 also. It is used in #43, 139 and 147 with the spelling of OT.[77]

From the use of OD and OT we can conclude that when spelled with a (T) the word has been used purely as a word connector, but when spelled with a (D) it related two words as well as two sentences and phrases in which case it is also a phrase connector.

27. ΚΑΛΔ (káld=kala=waqtékeh)
According to Henning this word was *kada* in old Iranian language and meant when. The letter (d) at the end of some words in the inscription has been converted into an (h) in Persian and Pashto meaning when as in #1 and 50. From the Kushani KALD, *kala* remains in Pashto meaning when, as, since and whenever. The same word is seen in # 46 also. Since the (d) is converted to an (l) in Pashto, thus the structure of the Pashto *kala* is similar to *kada* of Iranian language.

28. ΑC (áse=az)
According to Henning this word has the same meaning as *az* used in present day Persian meaning from. It occurs in #102 also.

29. ΛΡΟΥΟΜΙΝΑΝ (lrohûménán)
This word and #30 have not been thoroughly or convincingly analyzed by orientalists and their interpretation remains controversial. Maricq, for example, says that the first portion of the word is *lruvo* of Druwa, an old Iranian language. He usually read the letter Upsilon (Y) as (H). He also thinks that the analysis of Junker and Herzfield in this regard was not correct. Their reasoning is based on the fact that in the script and coins of the Kushanids and Kushano-Sassanids, upsilon was not normally used for the H sound. But according to Maricq upsilon was not used in the Bactrian language, but was used to represent the H sound which did not exist in Greek alphabet. For this reason when Maricq presented his findings in the Journal Asiatique all upsilons used in the words were pronounced with an (H).

Contrary to Maricq's view, Henning believes that the use of upsilon (Y) instead of (H) was not common. In fact he says that the upsilon in the word LROYO was used to reduce the repetition of three omicrons in the word and this obstacle was not prevalent in the word LROOSP *(lruvasp)*.

Henning believes that the (dr) at the beginning of old Iranian words has been changed to (lr) in the Kushani language. In this regard the Kushani language is different from Pashto. The letters

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[76] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 107.

[77] It is also OT in the second copy.

(dr) still exist in Pashto i.e. *drama* of Avesta (move it) is *droomédal* (going or moving) in Pashto of which *droom* is the command form of the verb meaning to go or move it.

These words have been read as ac Iro-hominan-o. Meanwhile, Henning's view that the Kushani language was different from Pashto is not applicable. In Pashto both infinitives, i.e. *Irêl* (akin Kushani) and *dérlodal* (akin the Avestan group of languages) means having or to have. This shows that Pashto has several dialects. The use of the word divider (O), as used in all coins and Kushanid scripts, resolves the issue of the use of three repetitive O's. Consequently there would be no reason to change the divider into a upsilon. Instead of an upsilon (h) appears to be the correct usage. In all the words if we read upsilon as an (h) we will find that the words have a more correct structure. For example if the word POHR (#55) is read as (Y) the outcome would be *poyr*. The same word in Pahlavi is *puhr* from which *pûr* and *pisar* (son) were derived and used in Persian.[78] Similarly, if we read MIHR used in #138, 140, 150 and 153 as *mehr* it has the same form as used in present day Persian.

In short this word according to Maricq's followers is Lro-hominan and according the Henning it is Lro-Yominan.

Lro-lroî in Pashto has the infinitive *Irál* meaning owner. This word in Persian has its root as *dar* (have) and *dârinda* (owner) in which (l) has been converted to a d. Meanwhile, in Pashto the second portion of the first part of the word i.e. o (in lro) or oy of *lroî* is the sign of possession and adjective. There are several examples to this effect: *bro, tsargandoî, skarandoî* etc.

The second part of the word HOMINAN is composed of *hû+ménán*.

Ho in Pahlavi, Avesta and Dari means good, it is *so* in Sanskrit. In fact HO of Kushani, *sa* of Pashto and *khoob* of Persian all mean good and are of the same root. MINAN is an adjective of *mîna* in Pashto in which (n) has been used as a relative or suffix like *khera-kheran* (dirty), *gowda-gowdan* (lame) and *kâl-kâlan* (yearly). Based on this it can be said that the meaning of minan is friend, beloved or sacred. The word *manel* in Pashto meaning to accept is also derived from this word.

The meaning of the combined components LRO and HOMINAN is benevolent-owner or sacred-owner. Since after this composed word and its divider O a possessive (i) which in old Persian was written as (y) has been used. Thus ΛΡΟYOMINAN should be a possessive of the succeeding word.

It will be useful to mention that ΛΡΟYOMINAN most probably was the name of the fire-god. The historical context of *lro*, generally used for owner-god is as follows:

• The first part of Drvaspa, the ninth Yasht of Avesta, in which Mazde Yasna's God, who was the guardian and preserver of small and big four-footed animals, is the same as *lro=dru*[79] meaning owner, guardian and god.

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[78] The conversion of (h) in *pohr* into (s) in *pisar* is linked to *wanas* of Pahlavi which became *gunah* and *kherwa* which became *khuroos*.

[79] Mazda Parasti, p. 111.

• On one side of Kanishka's coins, who ruled from 125-152 A.D., is minted a bearded god beside whom is a running horse. Besides them the word *lro-aspo* (with dividers lr+o asp+o) is also inscribed.

• In an article entitled Zoroastrian gods on the Hindo-Scythian coins Oralstein considers this name to be the Persian *lahrasp* [80] and its Avestan structure is *aurvat aspa* meaning the owner of a swift horse. Its Pahlavi form is *rorasp* or *lorasp*. As the first letter of the name of the god on Kanishka's coins could not be clearly seen, Darmesteter read it as *droo acpo*. This error was made despite the fact that on coin #7 of Percy Gardener, the word *lro asp* is clearly visible. The conversion of (d) into (l) in the languages of the eastern Iranian plateau is and was a common practice.[81] The same is seen in the Manavid Soghdi dialects and some of the Pamiri dialects.[82]

Lrêl, derlodêl, meaning owning and having in Pashto and the same with a small difference such as *dârah* and *dârendah* is seen in today's Persian. Thus the *lro* of Kushani language, *dro* of Avesta and *lor* of Pahlavi are of the same root and origin. So the meaning of LROHOMINAN might be benevolent sacred-owner or benevolent sacred-god.

This word still exists in Pashto i.e. *daro* is used for the name of men in Kandahar. One of the grandfathers of the Atsekzais in southern Kandahar was named Daro whose tomb is still known and famous as Daro's tomb.[83]

30. EIP (éir=aûr=ata<u>sh</u>)

Orientalists have not come to any conclusion about the meaning of this word either. Maricq thinks it means bravery and courage although this meaning does not fit the use of the word in the sentence.

I my view this word has exactly the same pronunciation as *aûr* (fire) in the Waziri dialect of Pashto i.e. *éir*.

The meaning of *éir* is fire with reference to the sacred-fire which was lit in the Baghlan temple. As mentioned the remains of a fire place and ashes were found in the temple. Before this word a possessive (i) is found in which case the words LRO-HOMINAN would have a possessive case. The meaning of both *lro-hûménán* and *éir* is thus benevolent sacred god of fire.

Before analyzing the next word we have to mention that *aûr* is a Pashto word meaning fire and still pronounced as *éir* by some tribes. In the same token *éiray* meaning ashes is also used in

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[80] Eastern Documents, I, p. 157.

[81] Soghdi Inscriptions, p. 308.

[82] Mazda Parasti, p. 115.

[83] Farahi, Mulllah Mohammad Yaqub in a qasida about the ascention of His Majesty the late Mohammad Nadir Shah Afghani says:

Our leadership elevated into kingship,

The spirit of Daro blessed Painda Khan.

the language. It is the same word as used in the inscription.

31. ϹΤΑΔ (stâd)

The same as #25, hence it is used as an exact verb and not an auxiliary verb and it means stopped and delayed. The sentence from #26 to 31 OD KALD AC LROHOMINAN EIR CTAD means: and when from the benevolent sacred-god the fire stopped.

32. ΤΑΔ (tâdh)

This word is similar to *tâ* of Persian and Pashto. In #37 it is used both in the singular and plural form, but in #18, 78, 81 and 107 it is used as a component of a composed word, in which case the letter (d) has been added to it. However, in #46 it is used as a component of a composed word where it is in the singular form without the terminal (d).

It seems that TAD of the Kushani language was abridged in later dialects and became *ta* and used as a sign of condition, cause and end. In Pahlavi it is *tak* and in old Persian it was *tavat* and in Pazind it was *dak*[84] meaning until and up until.

The reason for deleting (d) in # 46 while in words #18, 78, 81 and 107 it has been written with a terminal (d) is that whenever TAD is used with a word starting with a vowel it has a terminal (d) but if it joins a word where the first letter is a consonant then the (d) is eliminated. Thus the (d) of TAD has been striked while it remains in TAKALD. An (i) exists between #32 and 33 acting as a possessive.

33, 34. ΒΑΓΕΑϹ (bégéys)

This word is the same as #6 and 9 of the inscription which means big, great and god. The terminal (e) after BAG may be a plural sign. This sign remains in plural words for the feminine gender. Word #91 ASANGE is used as a plural and BAGEAS in #108 is of the same nature. Consequently, we can say that here the meaning of BAGE is gods.

Regarding the suffix (ac) at the end of the word orientalists mistakenly considered it similar to (az) of #28. Since it has been differently used in #28 and was separated by the dividers from succeeding and preceding words I consider it to be (az). In this particular place and in #108, since it is not separated by a divider, this I consider it to be a suffix. Its form still exists in Pashto such as *ghar-ghariz* and *lànd-làndiz* in both of which the possessive sign (iz) is used.

Historical reasons also exist by means of which we can say (iz) is a possessive sign rather than any other thing. It existed during the Kushanid period. In the Rozgan script, related to the Mahrakula Hepthalittes, around 50 A.D., the first word is the praise word bageac (godliness).[85]

As a result we can say in the inscription BAGEAC also means godliness and related to gods in

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[84] Burhan-e Qatà footnotes, p. 451.

[85] For further details see Pashto and Loykan-e Ghazna, p. 27.

which case it means god's worshippers. The possessive (i) succeeding the word related the worshippers of god to the Nawshad temple that is the worshippers residing in Nawshad.

35. INOþAYM (naw<u>sh</u>âlm, naw<u>sh</u>âd)

Orientalists have kept silent and have said nothing regarding its meaning., Henning alone has recorded its meaning as seat. But I recognize its origin to be in *nawshal* for the following reasons:

1. This word is the *naw<u>sh</u>âd* of Persian literature because its (i) stands for (d) as in the words MALIZ *(mahadezh)* and BAGLANG *(baghdang=baghlân)*. And this change of (d) to (i) exits in these inscriptions and in all the Indo-Aryan languages, i.e. Hindi *das*, Persian *dah*=Pashto *las*, Persian *sad*=Pashto *sál*. From this it appears that in this case the language of these inscriptions corresponded to Pashto, and the (d) of Persian *nawshad* and *dez* were (l) in that language.

The word no<u>s</u>alm is probably composed of *naw+shâl* i.e. the new *shâl*, the syntax being like Pashto with the principle of attributive adjective preceding the noun it qualifies.

However, *shâl* is probably the same word that we have remaining in Persian as a suffix in *yakh-châl* (ice-box) and *siyâh-châl* (dungeon), and in Pashto in the word *dar<u>sh</u>al* or *dar<u>sh</u>âl* (threshold), and it has the meaning of spatial capacity. This word is also preserved in its original form of *shâl* in the place-name Afghan-shâl,[86] which in the time of Sultan Mahmud was a place in the vicinity of Sobektegin's grave in Ghazni. Here was located an old palace of Mahmud's and the Messenger's Field (the reception-field for messengers and ambassadors), In Tarekh-e Baihaqi it is repeatedly mentioned[87] and in some of the copies it has also been recorded in the form of Afghan-shâli. For a period of a thousand years we have known of the *shâl* in the locality of modern Quetta[88] in the province of Pshin southwest of Kandahar. And besides this, there existed other localities also with the name of *shâl*,[89] and the present-day *shâl* of Kunar (a province in eastern Afghanistan) is also one of them which remains to this day.

The ancient NOSALM of Kushani, which is similar to Pashto, later became *nawshâd* in Persian i.e. new place and new resting place, on the analogy of ancient *nawbahar* (*nawuhâra*=new temple). Nawshâl was the name of the very temple in Baghlan, and perhaps they later built a *nawshâd* modeled upon it also in Balkh and other places, to which reference is made in our explanation.

2. What was *nawshâd* and where was it? The Persian poets, especially the early ones, have mentioned *nawshâd*, and from the context of their words it appears that it was the name of a locality or town with a large number of beautiful women. Farrukhi says in an encomium to Sultan

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[86] Babur also has Afghan-shâl Tazk-e Babury p. 87 stating: Sajawand is among the places in Logar... and its people are Afghan-shâl.

[87] Tarekh-e Baihaqi, p. 256, 260, 271, 426 and 499

[88] Ahsan-al-Taqaseem, p. 298.

[89] Nuhzat-al-Quloob, p. 64, 94.

Mohammad bin Mahmud:

> Your house has become the altar for the people,
>
> Like the house of Nawshâd earlier.

Similarly in an encomium to Sultan Mahmud:

> He has stamped out a thousand idol-temples mightier than the Pyramids,
>
> He has emptied two hundred cities, lovelier than Nawshâd.

Similarly:

> Gardens which are like the idol-house of Nawshâd,
>
> Become a desert until autumn season.

Elsewhere Farrukhi has thus mentioned the Bahar of Nawshâd (temple of Nawshad):

> Be at rest and in happiness, since from marvelous Turks
>
> Your place is like a fire-shrine and the Bahar of Nawshâd.

In Roshnai Nama related to Naser Khusraw:

> You are in Farkhar and your beloved in Nawshâd,
>
> Go there, why are you shouting and crying?

Masàud Sàd Salman says:

> Oh great Shah, chose amusement and do your work of a shah,
>
> Call for a cup of wine from that idol of Nawshâd.

Amir Muàizzi, in praise of Sultan Malik Shah says:

> Let there be new and newer joy for you in all places,
>
> From the many kinds of idols may your assemblage be like Nawshâd.

Similarly:

> The garden became decorated like the idol-temple of Mushkuy,
>
> The plains became lit-up like the idol-temple of Nawshâd.

Again he said:

> The idol which has connection to Nawshâd,
>
> Every hour holds my heart with new happiness.
>
> Like a play-thing of the house of Nawshâd
>
> Its face keeps my neighborhood and quarter.

Kamal Ismail says:

> Light of the Faith, the gifted Shah, about whom the pen-tip
>
> At all times puts forth a play-thing of Nawshâd for me.

Amir Khusraw of Balkh, later of Delhi says:

> The holy man is giving sermons, but the poor drunk's thoughts
>
> Go towards the play-things of Nawshâd.

From these additional examples which have been quoted, and in particular from those which are the sayings of the earliest of the poets, they talk about the altar of Nawshâd, the idol-temple of Nawshâd and the idols of Nawshâd. It appears that these poets were convinced of Nawshâd's

presence as one of the sanctuaries or idol-temples and that they counted that place, quite like Nawbahar of Balkh, among the important religious and idolatry centers. And later dictionary writers, taking their cue from the same type of usage, deduced that Nawshâd was something arousing beauty, and recorded that with its meaning in their dictionaries.

However, in Arab geography books and Masalik-e Mamalik which was printed in nine volumes in Leiden, and in the Asar-al-Bilad of Qazwini and Nuzhat-al-Quloob and Tarekh-e Guzidah and Lubab-al-Lubab and Rahat-al-Sudur, Jawamà-al-Hikayat, Futuh-al-Baladan of Bilazhari and Tabari and Lughat-e Shahnama by Abdul Qader Baghdadi and Fehreste Lughat-e Shahnama by Wolf there is no record or notice of this word. Only in the following books is a recording of this word found:

In Tarekh-al-Kamilu of Ibn Athir, on the events of the year 257 H. in reference to the advance of Yàqub Layce towards Fars and Balkh he says: He went toward Balkh and Tukharistan, and then he reached Balkh and descended to the outskirts and wrecked Nawshad. This was the building which Daud bin Abas al Nausari built outside of Balkh. Then Yàqub went from Balkh towards Kabul and took possession of it ...

In the Egyptian printing of Ibn-al-Athir this word Nawshâd is with an undotted (d) and in the Leiden printing it is with a dotted d (=dh). In the Ansab of Samàni it is written (p. 571 a): *annusari* with *zamma* for (n) and *fatha* for (s), between them (w), then alif and at the end of it (r). This has connection with *nushar* and it is a village in Balkh. It has been said Nushari was a castle in Balkh which Amir Daud bin al-Abas built, and it has been said that when Yàqub bin Layce arrived in Balkh, Daud bin al-Abbas retreated to Samarqand. But when Yàqub withdrew, Daud came back to his homeland and found his castle, named Nusar, ruined. Then he wrote the following poem, and from grief his heart broke and he died after seventeen days:

> Oh, how? Daud have you seen the like of this?
>
> As no one can see stars at the break of day.
>
> That which was Nushar is a wasteland,
>
> Around it the voices of owls cry out.

Gardezi has the same story in Zain-al-Akhbar as follows: In the year two hundred and fifty six Yàqub took Bamiyan and ruined Nawshâd of Balkh. He ruined all the buildings which Daud bin al-Abbas bin Hashim bin Mahjur had made, and from there he returned to Kabul.[90]

As has been noted, then, firstly, *nawshâd* (which they also spelled as *naushar* or *nusar*) was in the outskirts of Balkh; secondly, that it was counted among the buildings of Daud ibn Abas ibn Hashim ibn Maynjur (or Mahjur); thirdly, that Yàqub of Lyce destroyed it, there remaining no doubt

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[90] As was seen above, in the history of Ibn-al-Athir this name is Mabanjur. In Zain-al-Akhbar, the printing of Sàid Nafisi (p. 112) it is printed as Bayanhur. But in the original of the manuscript it was Mahjur. In Màjam-al-Ansab by Zambawar (p. 307) Bani Bayanjur are the commanders of Tukharistan. In Kitab-al-Buldan by Yàqubi, who died around 292 H., the house (aal) of Hashim bib Bayanjur is mentioned (p. 53). Since among the commanders of Khurasan the House of Simjur Dewati is also well-known with historians, it is then probable that Mahjur and Simjur are of the same category. In the conversation of Persian speakers of Ghazni, *jur* is used with the meaning of forearm. So *simjur* would be "having silvery elbow" and *mahjur* "having lunar elbow". However, this is a guess and is not certain.

that all these three historians are speaking about the same place. Finally, the spellings of the names of those localities contradict each other, due to the errors of scribes, i.e. Ibn Athir and Gardezi have written it *nawshâd* and *nawshâdh*, and Samàni once or twice has written *nausar* and once or twice *nushar*. The congruity of Ibn Athir with Gardezi without doubt gives preference to *nawshâd*, and *nawshâd* also appears in the rhymes of poems where (d) is the rhyming letter, and must be more correct. Although Yàqut followed Samàni and recorded it *nushar*, saying that it is a settlement or fortress in Balkh, it is evident, then, that Samàni is culpable in the original distortion of (r), not Yàqut. And from the puns that the poets have produced between *nawshâd* and *shâdi* (happiness), both (sh) and (d) of the word are strengthened.

In Fazayel-e Balkh, which the preacher Shaikh-al-Islam Safiudin Abu Bakr Abdullah ibn Omar ibn Mohammad ibn Daud wrote in Arabic in the year 610 H. and which an anonymous person translated into Persain in 676 H., the manuscript of the Persian translation being preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, *nawshâd* is mentioned, and has a brand new meaning there, i.e. that Daud ibn Abbas was occupied for twenty years in the construction of Nawshâd, and he says that the date of its erection in the province of Balkh was Ziulqada (11th month of 233 H).[91]

Marquart in Iran Shahr (p. 293-301) and Barthold in his book Turkistan (pp. 77-78) have also referred to the name *nawshâd*, and some of the above-mentioned sources have been noted. Following Samàni, Barthold erroneously calls *nawshâd nussar*.[92] In addition to the poets mentioned, in Wais and Ramin of Fakhruddin Gurgani (around 446 H.) an account of *nawshâd* appears in this form:

> Once again he broke into speech,
>
> He spoke words like the tablet of Nawshâd,
>
> Cypress and box-tree would be like your height
>
> If the tablet of Nawshâd be like both of them.[93]

Ferdowsi too has mentioned *nawshâd* and says that Noshirwan built the city of Zab-e Khusraw and kept Rumi captives in jail there:

> Noshirwan commanded a city to be built,
>
> Inside of it was a palace and running water.
>
> Elders of enlightened mind and happy ones
>
> Gave it the name of Zab-e Khusraw.
>
> The captives whom he captured from those cities
>
> Their hands and feet were wounded from heavy fetters,
>
> He commanded that they take away the fetters,
>
> And in that city they laid out Nawshâd.

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[91] Persian Chrestomathy, Vol. 1, p. 72. 1889.

[92] Burhan-e Qatà footnotes, p. 2200, based on the writing of the eminent Qazwini Padga, p.49.

[93] Wais wa Ramin, p. 105-108.

From Ferdowsi's usage it is clear that he treated *nawshâd* as a feature of the city of Zeb-e Khusraw, and he alluded to it with the same meaning like other poets.

3. It seems that Nawshâd was not a special temple. Instead, in numerous instances there existed graceful temples from ancient times with this name. From amongst all those, there most probably was also in existence a temple on the outskirts of the royal Kushanid city of Bagram to the north of Kabul. In the time of Kanishka, Chinese hostages would live in the summer in this temple. Its location is presumed to be in the ruins of Puza-e Shuturak in Kohe Pahlawan, Bagram.[94]

Hiuan Tsang made note of this temple and lodging for Chinese hostages and princes of China with the name *sha-lo-kia* (kia=house) in July 644 A.D. as he was going from Kabul and Kapisa to China and passing by this place.[95] There is reason that we should recognize the initial components of the word *sha-lo* as the same root *nawshâl*.

4. In Kandahar, Punjab and Kashmir, a name for avenues, gardens, and splendid places is in use, two places with the name of Shalamar being present in Kandahar, and the Shalimar gardens of Lahore and Kashmir, which are among the architectural remnants of the Indian Moghuls.

I do not know what the source of these words is. However, in their first part there also appears the marks and signs of that same *shâl.* From the study of the preceding documents it appears that Kushani *shâl*, the *nawshâd* of Persian literature, the Afghan *shâl* of Bayhaqi, the Arabic *nushadh*, the Chinese *sha-lo-kia*, and the Shalimar of Kandahar and India are from one source.

In the Kushani language *nawshâl* meant new place and new temple. At the beginning of the Islamic era up to the Mongol departure, *nawshâd* was applied to graceful temples and idol-shrines and to the places where such graceful idols were. *Nawshâl* of the Kushani language and *nawshad* of Persian literature were, then, among the place-names of Afghanistan, and there existed temples and idol-shrines and idolatry-spots with this name in every age and era in Balkh, Tukharistan and Kabul. According to past documents Daud bin Abbas made the last Nawshâd in 233 H. in Balkh, and Yàqub of the Saffarids destroyed it in 256 H. Farrukhi has mentioned this same place in Balkh together with Nawbahâr:

> By Nawshâd gate it would go, or by Nawbahâr garden,
> How pleasant is the blooming gale of Balkh's Nawshâd
> Especially now that spring has come to Balkh.[96]

5. We have a name in the Pashto language which is Nurshali. There lived a poet with this name at the end of the 9th century in Abasin valley, some of whose Pashto poems Darmesteter

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[94] Tarekh-e Afghanistan, II, p. 231.
[95] The travel loges of Hiuan Tsang, p. 163.
[96] Divan of Farrukhi, p. 107.

heard and recorded.[97] If we analyze this word, it is *nur+shali*. As we know, *nur* is the same *lmar* (Pashto=sun) and *shali* is a place. As a whole this name gives the meaning of sun-place, that same ancient *shâl* being preserved and remaining alive in the second part of it.

6. In Persian too the root *shâl* with the meaning of location and place is present. *Awshâl* with initial *fatha* is pond, water-holder, and the place where the water stands in mountains,[98] which is the same *shâl=châl*, the root of that same ancient word remaining preserved in this word.

However, in all three copies of the inscription at the end of the word *nawshâd* there is preserved an (m) with no vowel before it, and it would be read *nawshâlm*, as it should be the same connector (m) of #3. But this point is not clear to me why this appended-possessive (m) has not been separated by the word divider O as on other occasions in the inscription it is connected to the word like modern Persian. Perhaps this juxtaposition is a sign of *izafat* (possessive appendage) and ownership based on grammatical principles of the Kushani language of which we have no knowledge now. In the third copy in this place and in #109, this word is noshAlm.

36. ΦΡΟΧΟΡΤΙΝΔ (fru<u>kh</u>orténd)

The first part of the word is *fro.* This prefix appeared in #17 also which explains its meaning as before, in front, and it was the same in Avesta, Sanskrit and old Persian. In Latin it was *pro*. In old Persian many words start with this prefix.[99] In Dari literature both *farâ* (up) and *fero* (down) are seen, and they are for strengthening or orienting the verb. Bayhaqi says: they do not open their mouths before this great king (*zaban farâ pesh*...).[100]

Sàdi says:

One day a rebellion occurred in Syria,

Everyone went forward (*farâ raftand*) from his corner.

As for *fero*, it appears in the verbs *fero-istâd, fero khoshkéd, fero gereftand* and in other verbs.

Farukhi says:

Put out from our assembly the two-faced people.

Bring forward the red flower and put down (*fero kon*) the two-faced flower.[101]

Here the prefix *fro* is attached to the following verb *khortind*. With the preceding prefix, this verb is *fro-<u>kh</u>or-tind*, from which are *farâ khortah* and *farâ <u>kh</u>ordah*. In Pahlavi it was <u>khwart</u> *(<u>kh</u>wartan)* and in Avesta *khwa*r and *khwarayti* (eating). One of the meanings of this same root is also perish,[102] and this is the intention here (=taste the downward). The subject of this verb is

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[97] Da Pashtunkhwa Haaro Bahar.

[98] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 186.

[99] Old Persian, p. 197.

[100] Tarekh-e Bayhaqi, p. 242.

[101] Sabk Shenasi, I, p. 340.

[102] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 788.

BAGEAS in the third person plural i.e. the god-worshippers of this Nawshâd perished: TAD IBAGE-AS-I-NOSHALM FROXOTIND meaning: so that the god-worshippers of Nawshâd perished. As for FROXOTIND, it is the third person plural like the verb of #40.[103]

37. ΤΑΔ (tâd)

This same *tâ* of Pashto and Persian is among the particles of goal, explanation and condition (cf. #32).

38. ΑΒ (ãb)

It has been repeatedly used with the modern meaning of water (cf. #20).

39. ΛΡΑΦΟ (laráfû)

In this instance the researchers have had no success and have not said a thing that would be of use, and this word has remained unanalysed.

In my view LRAFO is clearly an ancient form of *lar*[104] (gutter) and *lour* (gully)[105] which we say as *lorah* in Pashto. In Kandahar a particular flood-conduit in the west of the city is called *lorah*. And the Lora river has its course in southern Afghanistan, being shaped by the spring floods. As for FO at the end of the word, which is changed into (h) in Pashto, it was in several words of ancient tongues, for example, *koh* (mountain) of modern Persian was *kaufa* in old Persian and Avesta,[106] of which their final (fa) is changed into (h). And on this same model perhaps LRAFO of the Kushani language is also the joint *lar, lora* of modern Persian and Pashto, whose meaning is gutter and water-conduit which are dug out by human hands and which come into being from the flow of floods.

Since this word has its position in the sentence as subject, its verb being plural, it can be said on this basis that the word LARAFO was plural also. Since at the excavations of the Baghlan temple there are remains of gutters coming out around the steps of the temple, on that basis there can be a confirmation of this interpretation.

40. ΑΟΤΙΝΔ (ásténd)

This verb, which is connected to its subject of #39, is third person plural like the verb of # 36. From the same root STAD of #25 and 34; here also it is a primary verb, not auxiliary. And its meaning is thus: TAD AB LRAFO ACTIND=*ta ãbé joyha istâdand* meaning: since the aqueducts

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[103] Here we should not overlook the Pashto *khwâra* and *khwéredal* i.e. became separated and scattered, and Persian *khwâr=zâr*, and possibly *khortind* should be interpreted as to become dispersed and to come into distress.

[104] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1893.

[105] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 1911.

[106] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1739; Sabk Shenasi, Vol. 1, p. 216.

became dry. The subsequent sentence is connected to this sentence as a result of it.

41. AB (ãb)

Cf. #20.

42. ANΔEZ (ándéz)

Maricq considered this word to be from the Iranian *handeza* meaning to heap up, i.e. to pile up (on each other), whereas it has no correlation to the place of its usage.

It seems that ANDEZ is from a root of a Pahlavi and Dari word. In Pahlavi and Dari *ând* was an indefinite number, somewhat comparable to Arabic *badà* (several, some), which was the Dari word *andak* and the Pahlavi *handak* meaning few, fewness and a few of anything. [107]

Now it is unknown to us how and for what purpose EZ is attached to the end of the word, but from the place where it is used one can perceive that ANDEZ has a verbal meaning, conveying the sense of the water became scarce.

43. OT (aut)

A conjunctive particle equal to Persian *wa* and Pashto *aw* (cf. #26).

44. MAYIZ

Cf. #2, 16, 23, 79, 112, 126.

45. ΠΙΔΟΡΙΓΔ (pédurégd)

Maricq has indicated the root of this word to be *pita-rixta*, an ancient form of a passive particle which was used in reference to the past. Clearly this word is an ancient form of the same Persian *pidrud* which has the sense of be left behind and farewell, and in Pahlavi it was *padrut*.[108] Perhaps ΠΙΔΟΡΙΓΔ is in reference to past action here, which nowadays we say as *padrud shud*. Its negative imperfect comes in #113.

This, then, is the meaning of the sentence from #41 to 45: AB ANΔEZ OT MAYIZ ΠΙΔΟΡΙΓΔ: the water became scarce, and the acropole was abandoned. It ought to be mentioned that there appears in Pashto from this same root the verb *pregad=prekhod* and the infinitive *presowal=prekhodal* (leave, quit).

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[107] Burhan-e Qatà,, p. 171.

[108] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 373.

46. ΤΑΚΑΛΔ (tâkáld)

For explanation of (TA) refer to #32 and 37.

Here TA is an inseparable part of the following word KALD, and they also do not even have the divider O in between. It seems that when they wrote this word with KALD they elided its (d). This explanation of the word *kald* (=Pashto *kala*) occurred in #27. *Tâ kala (tâ kunun)* is in use in Pashto with the meaning of up to the time that and so that, and Henning have the substance of this same meaning for #46 with English until.

47. NOKONZOK (nokonzoké)

According to what Maricq also says, this is a Kushani personality and the name of the head of Nawshad's reconstruction committee. However, Maricq read the divider O and the subsequent (i) of attribution as parts of this same name, whereas (i) is a sign of attributive subordination which also came after #29, and which is repeated several times in this inscription.

In keeping with the names of that time, this name ends in an honorific (k), parallels of which I showed in Pashto in #11. In the third text, however, it is NOKONZIK.

48. ΚΑΡΑΛΡΑΝΓ (kárálráng)

Maricq read this word as a military title composed of *kara*, i.e. army or troops + *drang*, which was the title of the ruler of nearby imperial Kushani provinces, or the title of the ruler of a border-state.

In olden times they spoke of a border as "the royal fringe"[109] and they said its plural as the royal *kenarah* (fringes, edges) and "the border-governors", which the Arabs say as *muluk-al-taraf*, and *kenarak* with *zamma* on the first (k). *Kanarang* comes from the word *kanarak* meaning border. There were *kanarangs* in every region. Ferdowsi has many poems about *konarank*, and among all those poems this very meaning of "guardian of the borders" comes up:

> Pass on from that, there is a river ahead
> Whose width is more than two farsangs,
> Its demonic, konarank and sentry,
> All the male daemons under his command.

This he says about the courage and bravery of the *konarank*: that the border-rulers were well-known for this character:

> Which is the hero with the heart of a konarang?
> In war by manliness he has made his heart black.[110]

Likewise according to Ferdowsi the *kanarang* of Marw had the name of Mahoy who was the leader of the shepherds:

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[109] Menhaj Serah of Jozjan says in Tabaqat-e Naseri:Qalej Arsalan...carried out some notable assaults. He obtained great fame, just as the borders of Afranja received much punishment from him. I, p. 312.

[110] Sabk Shenasi, I, p. 428.

Kanarang is of Merv and also Mahoy,

With an army and elephants, every kind of thing,

He who is the leader of our shepherds,

He is the director of our watchmen.[111]

In the old introduction to the Shahnamah, compiled in Moharam of the year 346 H., which is a more ancient model of Dari prose written in the name of one of the famous men of Khorasan, Abu-Mansur Mohammad ibn Abu Razzaq Abdullah Farukh, by his minister Abu Mansur ibn Ahmad al-Moàmmeri, in the genealogy of the writer of this prose-introduction the name *kanarang* repeatedly appears. From that, it is known that in the beginning of Islam in this part of Khurasan some men with the name of Kanarang were renowned. Tabari,[112] in the events of the year 31 H., mentioned this name in the form of Kanari, margrave of Tus, and Bilazari[113] has mentioned this same name Kanarang in the account of the conquests of Khurasan, and in the manuscripts this was distorted to the form of Kanarang, the margrave of Tus.[114] This is the same name which Ibn Khurradabih recorded in the form of *kanar (kanarang)*, the king of Neshapur.[115]

As we are aware, up to about the fifth century of the Hejira, it was a custom among the farmers and priesthood and the people of Khurasan to preserve their genealogies, and in every one of these families there existed narratives concerning their ancestors which were preserved from generation to generation. (This is substantially the same case nowadays among the Pashtuns). A portion of them has by chance been preserved in several books, and from among them there are a few narratives relating to Kanarang, the sixth ancestor of Abu Mansur Mohammad ibn Abdur Razaq, whom we see in Abu Mansuri's introduction to Shahnama,[116] to which reference was made previously.

In this regard Shams Fakhri Esfahani writes (744 H.), "Kanarang: he is called civil-governor and also called margrave." An illustration of his own:

Wherever that the least of your servants be,

There by your good fortune will be the kanarang.[117]

Before Shams Fakhri this word was recorded also by Asadi Tusi with the meaning of master of the border and margrave, relying on this by Ferdowsi:

He never became separated from either of these two,

They were kanarang and he was a king.[118]

A number of the margraves i.e. rulers of autonomous regions of Khurasan were called *kanarang*.

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[111] Wais wa Ramin, p. 427.

[112] Tarekh-al-Umam wal Muluk, I, 2886.

[113] Futuh-al-Baladan, p. 406.

[114] Introduction to the old Shahnama, p. 147.

[115] Al Masalek wa Almamalek of Istakhri, p. 39.

[116] Hamasa Sarayee dar Iran, p. 87.

[117] Màyar-e Jamali, p. 286.

[118] Loghat-e Fars, p. 260.

According to Prokop, the Byzantine historian, the station of *kanarang* was hereditary in a number of the families. The margrave of the Abre Shahr region i.e. northern Neshapur was called *kanarang*. When Yazdgerd III of the Sassanids fled to Khurasan in fear of Arab attacks, he took refuge with the ruler of Tus, who was also called *kanarang*.

In the indexes to the titles of autonomous rulers, the ruler of Neshapur was called *kanar* and the ruler of the Tus *kanarang*. Thàbili explains in Ghorar-e Muluk-al-Fars: the margrave of Tus was *kanarang*. Amongst the military events of the Sassanid period we at the time come across this point, that the Sassanid emperor sent such and such a *kanarang* into the battle field, and from this we find that the *kanarangs* also had military duties. Concerning Geshnasp Daz who was among the influential nobles at the court of the Sassanid king Khwaz, they have clearly written that he was a *kanarang*. Hamza-e Esfahani, in an explanation to anthology of Abu Nawas, has written *kanarang* for the margrave of Tus and Merv.

Not only the margraves of the eastern border-regions of Fars were called *kanarang*; in other regions also this usage was current, as it was in the regulations for receiving foreign ambassadors in the Sassanid area that upon the arrival of an ambassador, the *kanarangs* of the provinces that were on the route of this ambassador had to receive him in every place as was befitting, and perhaps the rulers of small regions were called *kanarang*. Ferdowsi in the Shahnama has used the word *kanarang* in twenty places with the meaning of absolute ruler.[119]

As to office of *kanarang* being a military office in Afghanistan, there is reference to this found in Shahreyar Nama by Serajuddin Osman ibn Mohammad Mokhtari Ghaznavi (died in the year 544 or 554 H.) [120] which, after the year 492 H. was entered into verse for Sultan Masàud Sani ibn Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi and finished in the year 508 H. This story includes the wars of the descendants of Rustam-e Saystani, Faramarz, son of Rustam, and his cousin Shahreyar and is related to the historic land of Afghanistan. Its only manuscript is to be found in the British museum.[121]

In this versified story which a Ghazni poet delivered before the Ghaznavid court there is a story about the Shah of Haytal (Hayatala) in which the word *kanarang* appears with the meaning of a military office:

> The kanarang of Haytal came with six-thousand,
> The yelps of a scuffle arose.
> When from the front there rose up outcries and growls,
> The quick commanders moved away.
> The dark night and the sound of the brass drum,
> The kanarang roared like a demon

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[119] Tarekh-e Tamadun-e Sassani, I, p. 254.

[120] Chahar Maqala, footnotes, p. 150.

[121] Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British museum. p 524 and following.

He has taken the road of the heroic, the fortunate and the quick.[122]

By this explanation, *kanarang*, according to Burhan-e Qatà, was with initial *zamma* (ko) meaning margrave. But since in Pahlavi *kanarang*, in Greek *xanaranges*, and in Syriac *qanarag* was the special title of the margrave of Abr-e Shahr of Neshapur in the Sassanid era,[123] in Avesta also the word *kanara*, in Pahlavi *kanara* with a *fatha* of (k),[124] based on that, its pronunciation should be with ka—like in the inscription. But as to what the root was of the Kushani word KARALRANG and whether the word is simple or compound is not clear to me at present. Its analysis is dependent on our forthcoming information about the roots of words in the Kushani language. From this inscription, however, it is clear that the ancient Kushan form of *kanarang* was *karalrang*.[125]

49. Ι-ΦΡΕ-Ι-ΧΟΑΔΕΔΗΟΓ (î-fré-î-<u>kh</u>odéwug)

The two i's at the beginning and end of FRE are the sigh of *izafat* as in #53, 56, 80, 104 and 108, which connects FRE with *karalrang* in attribution. The second (i) likewise puts the subsequent XOADEOG in attribution.

As for the word FRE, it is from the root of FRO of #17, 36 and 110, which has appeared repeatedly in this inscription, and perhaps, according to instances of usage and the grammatical circumstances of its occurrence, the vowels (e) and (o) varied in form, originally being FR.

This preposition is not found in old Pahlavi. However, *fra* in Avesta, *pra* in Sanskrit, *pra* in Latin and *pro* in the Achaemenid inscriptions of old Persian appeared at the beginning of verbs, adjectives and nouns, and it was used with the meaning of forward and front,[126] and it is said that this FRA appeared repeatedly at the head of verbs in the Dari language also, clarifying the direction of the verb, such as *frâ-amad, frâ-afgand, frâ-raftand*.[127]

Nizami says:

The drunken police-chief came into (*frâ-amad*) my neighborhood,

And delivered up a few kicks toward me.

Sàdi says:

One day an insurrection occurred in Syria,

Everyone went forth (*frâ-raftand*) from his corner.

Bayhaqi says:

They do not speak before (*frâ*) this great, fortunate king.

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[122] Hamas Sarayee, p. 315. In a copy from the manuscript of Shahreyar Nama.

[123] The Sassanids, p. 108.

[124] Tataboàt-e Irani, I, p. 115.

[125] Up to the time of the Ghorids there was a fort with the name Hesar-e Kanarang located between Ghazni and Bamiyan.

Tabaqat-e Nasiri I, p. 461, tells the story of how this appelation lasted up to that time, i.e. c. 600 H.

[126] Old Persian, p. 197.

[127] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 339.

From the usage of this affix in numerous instances in this inscription, it is clear that it was frequently in use in the languages of Afghanistan. In Pashto vestiges of it remain in three forms *wér, dér, ra* for the third, second and first persons of discourse, because sometimes (f) of the other languages is changed into w in Pashto, such as *wafra* in Avesta, *vafr* in Pahlavi, *vaft* in Sanglichi, and *vafra* in Munji,[128] which is *wâwréh* in Pashto and *barf* in Persian. In this same way the *wár*, affix of direction in Pashto, has its root from that same ancient (fr) which was also used in Kushani. Here, in the sentence NOKONZOK-I-KARLANG-I-FRE-I-XOADEOG (FRE) specifies the location, station and title of Nokonzok, he having gotten his station of *karalrang (kanarang)* from *xoadeog* (xuday=lord), and it gives the meaning of provenance and connected with confirmation: the king's governor and agent of the Sultanate, etc.

Let it be known that Maricq considered FRE to be a proper name, and Henning took it as meaning the confident of the emperor. This, however, is improbable, and the roots of the word are present in the inscription itself.

As for the word *xoadeog*, in the view of Maricq and Henning it has the meaning of a free and equal lord or master (autokrator), and is the *khidew* of Persian, which is *xidiv* in Turkish and *khedive* in French.

The word *khudây* was used in Persian literature up to the first years of the Islamic era also with the meaning of king, master and ruler. Every prominent individual was called *khudâwandgar* (i.e. lord). With this same meaning the *kabul khudây* and *zabul khudây* in the Shahnama and *gozgan khudâh, saman khudâh* and *buxara khudâh* have been mentioned in books about the history of the beginning of the Islamic era.[129] Among all the kings of Kabul who, in the first half of the seventh Christian century, were giving opposition to the conquering Arab armies in these parts, one also has the name Xuduwayaka, whose coins can be found in eastern Afghanistan and the Punjab. After the Arab conquest the capital of these kings was transferred from Kabul and Gardez to Wihind on the banks of the Attock (Indus).[130] Moreover, the word *khudây* has different pronunciations up to now in Pashto: one says *khdoy, khodoy, khloy* etc., and it is known that the ancient pronunciation of this Afghan word was also close to these Pashto pronunciations, because in #145 of this inscription XOADE appears, and *xuduwayaka* is on the coins of the Kabulshah.

As for the (g) at the end of the word, it is the dignific type which is found at the end of the names of great men of that time (cf.#11).

50. ΚΙΔ (kéd=kéh)
This is the relative, declarative adverb concerning Nokonzok, the final (d) of which is silent in Persian after the vowel (i), as with # 26, 32,37 and 43.

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128 Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 259.

129 Zain-al-Akhbar, p. 1314; Masalik wa Mamalik of Ibn Khurdaz Beh, p. 41; Tabari, VII, p. 8.

130 Encyclopedia of Islam, under the item Afghanistan, I.

Maricq identifies this word as being similar to Khutanese *kide* and *kade*, and Soghdian *kdy*. Henning considers it equal with #8, SID, where, it is my belief, the (d) is likewise silent after the (i) and left unpronounced, and is to be read *si=chi.*

In Soghdian, *kdh=kz* is the same declarative *keh=ki.* In the northern Pahlavi poem Draxte Asurlk we find *gizish*, meaning *ke-ân-râ* i.e. (that which) in the objective case,[131] and the *kati* (which is) spoken in today's colloquial Kabuli Dari is in my belief from the remains of this same root, since there are also some people who say it *kadi*, i.e. *kati-au gap zad* (spoke with him) or _khudish gap zad_ (he spoke).

This word is exactly like PID of #68 and 90 from which have remained the Persian *bah* and Pashto *pah*, and the final (d) has been elided. However, in PIDEIN of #121 and 123 the (d) has remained to this day. This kind of (d) in KID is silent in the declarative *ke=ki* but in northern Pahlavi *gizish* and in the modern _khudish_ of colloquial Kabuli it is present and preserved.

51. ΦΡΕΙϹΤΑ (fréistâr)

In Pahlavi there was *parastâr* with the meaning of attendant, servant and obedient.[132] As Fakhre Gurgani says:

> Every moon faced one has a thousand
>
> Pretty servants *(parastâran)* around.[133]

Ferdowsi has:

> The son of a servant *(parastar zâda)* does not qualify,
>
> Although his father be the ruler.[134]

Henning gives the compounded roots of this word in Soghdian *frystr* and Parthian *fryhstwm* meaning showing sacrifice, and based on that he writes FREISTAR-AB SHA-I-BAG...with the meaning of devoted and sacrificing to the great king. Here, contrary to numerous other examples in the inscription, he takes the word *ãb* to mean *ba=to* (with), instead of modern *ãb*=water, but this is not acceptable, because in the rest of its occurrences AB is with its modern meaning of water. Since it would be used with the meaning of *ba* only in this instance, I consider this interpretation unreasonable. I consider FREISTAR AB to be a mixed compound, because in Pahlavi there was the word *parastâr* meaning servant and commander of a certain governmental institute. In Pahlavi texts things like this appear: *parastar marde berah mabuwed.*[135]

According to prevalent opinion the mixed compound FREISTAR AB must be a name of one of

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[131] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 110..

[132] Burhane Qatà, footnotes, p. 383.

[133] Wais wa Ramin, p. 24.

[134] Chahar Maqala, p. 81.

[135] Pahlavi Texts, p. 82.

the government officials who had the job of supplying water, and overseeing irrigation and ditch-digging, whom in the villages we know now as *mirãb*. In Tarekh-e Seistan (p. 314) the emirship of *ãb* is mentioned as one of the governmental jobs, which is probably the same ancient FREISTAR AB. According to this interpretation it should be said that this Nokonzok likewise had the job of chairman of the water supply institute, called *fréistãr ab=frârastar ãb*.

52. AB (ãb)
Its explanation occurred in # 15. It is also repeated in #20, 38, 41, 94 and 97.

53. ÞA (<u>shâ</u>)
This is the same modern Persian *shâh* whose explanation occurred in #10. The (i) following the word is the sign of attribution and description (*izafat*), as in #32, 34, 47, 55, 103 etc. Nowadays it is represented by the *izafat* (e). In the second text of the inscription SHA is spelled SHAH.

54. ΒΑΓ (bág)
Meaning lord and great (cf. #6).

55. ΠΟΥΡ (puhar)
As was explained in #29, this word should be read as *bag-pohr*, and not *poyr* as Henning has read it. Maricq considers *baga-pour* to be a compound from *bag-puthra* (son of the Lord), close to Sanskrit *devaputra* (still closer to Sanskrit *bhagaputra*), *poyr*—correct *pohr*—functions as a suffix in family names. The root of this word is *puca* in old Persian, *putra* in Sanskrit, *puthra* in Avesta, *pohr* in Pahlavi, in Persian and Pashto *pur=pus=pisar*,[136] and in old Hindi it is *pusra* and in Sindhi *putra*. In this inscription its Kushanic spelling is *pohr*, similar to the Pahlavi. Bag-pohr, then, means son of the Lord, son of the King, and son of God, and it is the attributive to the following Ioix-bosar. This Kushanic compound *bagpohr* is *bagh-pur* in Persian its Arabicized form is *faghfur*, i.e. son of God,[137] and Khwarazmi has clearly indicated this meaning.[138] The same ancient *pohr* and Persian *pur* is found in Pashto in the word *turbur* (*tra*=uncle+*bur*=son), uncle's son=cousin, and in the word *bura* (a woman who has lost her son). Let it be known that in the third copy of the inscription this word is written with the spelling POOR, which is the same as Persian *pur*=Pashto *bur*. In the Encyclopedia of Islam C.L. Hayworth writes that Ibn Athir considered *faghfur* to mean the son of heaven, the exact same title being *tain-tzyy* in the Chinese language.

In the Arabic inscription at Zaytun, which was written in the year 723 H., and which is mentioned

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[136] Old Persian, p. 197.

[137] Burhane Qatà, footnotes, p. 1484.

[138] Mafateh-al-àlum, p. 73.

by Marco Polo, (Vol 2, p. 145), this title was used for the Chinese emperor of the Sung dynasty. Thus it appears that this title was in general use in Central Asia as far as China.

56. ΛΟΙΧ (luyé<u>kh</u>)

Orientalists have not given regard to the true origin of this word, which is *loyak* in source references of the Islamic era. This family was one of the local kings of Kabul, Ghazna and Gardez, ruling in this territory at the beginning of the Islamic era. Loyak, which became LOIX in Greek script, is a family-name,[139] and the original name of this Baghpur and son of God of the Loyak family is Bosar in #57. It may be that this Loyak Bosar was ruler of this territory through the Kushanid emperor, since Nokonzok the *kanarang* was appointed as *"parastar-āb"* through this Loyak.

In the book Pashto wa Loyakan-e Ghazna I have explained in detail the word Loyak and their dynasty in the Islamic era. Here is an indication of the entire question:

Longworth Dames says that around 260 H. the local ruler of Ghazna was Shah Lâwik, who is an unknown personage.[140] Abdul Hai Gardezi[141] described the confrontation of Abu Mansur Aflah ibn Mohammad ibn Khaqan with Yàqub of Lyce in Gardez, and in the same way Nizamulmulk, in his commentary on the age of Alaptagin, mentions Loyak in connection with Amir of Ghazna.[142] Minhaj Seraj of Jozjan likewise mentions Abubakr Lawik of Charkh (in Logar) in confrontation with Subuktagin.[143] Mohammad ibn Ali of Shabankara likewise has noted this king of Ghazna.[144]

Gardezi reckoned this Gardez family of generals in the Ghaznavid court as possessing posts of mediators and political ranks. In the manuscript Karamat-e Sakhi Sarwar, which was found in Dera Ismail Khan, there was entered a story about this Ghazna family of rulers, and the remnants of this family of Ghaznavid rulers were here at the beginning of the Islamic conquests, and in the Khaljia language (Pashto) there is a song about them which is recited. In view of all the available documents, we know from this family the following rulers and men:

1. Loyak of Wajwir (Hajwir of Ghazna—Ujaristan) is related to it, contemporary with Ratbel, the Kabulshah of about 120 H.

2. Loyak of Khanan (Khaqan), son of Wajwir. Contemporary with Khanchil,[145] the Kabulshah of about 163 H.

3. Mohammad ibn Khaqan, about 210 H. (converted to Islam).

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[139] The spelling of this word is different in all three copies; in the first and original copy it is LOIX, in the second copy LOX and in the third copy ALIIX, and similarly as in the Islamic era they recorded it with various spellings *lwyk, lawyk, anwk, lawyl* etc. In that ancient era it had this same fate in the Greek spelling also, it being written in three kinds of spelling in three copies of one inscription at the same place (and perhaps in the same time period?); this is quite amazing.

[140] Encyclopedia of Islam, II, p. 154.

[141] Zain-al-Akhbar, p. 6.

[142] Siyasat Nama, p. 122.

[143] Tabaqat-e Nasiri, I, p. 268.

[144] Majma-al-Ansab (manuscript).

[145] Correct Khingil.

4. Abu Mansur Aflan, son of Mohammad, defeated by Yàqub Lyce the Saffar (coppersmith—the name of his dynasty) at Ghazna, about 256 H.

5. Mansur ibn Aflan, about 300 H.

6. Mursal ibn Mansur,[146] about 350 H.

7. Sahl ibn Mursal, about 400 H.

8. Abu Ali or Abubakr of Lawik, father-in-law of the Kabulshah. who with his son-in-law was defeated by Subuktagen at Charkh in Logar around 365 H. (cf. Pashto wa Loyakane Ghazna).

If to these eight Loyaks we add the two more ancient Loyaks of the second century A.D., which are mentioned in this inscription by the names of King Faghfur Loyak=Bosar, and his father Shizogarg (*arwa shad*=may he rest in peace), then we know ten persons from this family of kings in Ghazna and Gardez.

In regard to the family name Loyak and the literary records of it, I have given an explanation in Pashto wa Loyakan-e Ghazna, the quintessence of which is the following: the word *loyak* is formed from *loy* (big=leader) as in Pashto, with the addition of the dignific suffix (k), which was explained in #11, and of which there are many examples in this inscription and in Pahlavi.

Now, why was the dignific (k) spelled here with X (LOIX)? Perhaps the reason is connected with some grammatical rule, by which the sound (k) was changed to (x) after (i).

57. ΒΟϹΑΡ(bosér)

This is the personal-name of the Shah Loyak. Henning connects it with *upat-chara* of old Persian. But he says nothing else about the words Loyak and Bosar. In this case he also mentions the Persian words *bazâr=afzâr*, which do not seem that well-considered or relevant. However, since Loyak is the king's personal name, we are not faced with any problem.

58. þΙΖΟΓΑΡΓ (shizogargé)

Maricq and Henning have read this word as *shizogargo*, and have written its meaning as "the beneficent" i.e. doer of good work and munificent, but they have not given any documentation for such as interpretation, and they have not indicated its roots.

Since there is an *izafat* of paternity between the proper names Loyak Bosar and this word, based on Pahlavi and Dari which give the purport of filiation by the sign of *izafat* between the names of father and son, therefore I identify Shizogarg as the name of Loyak Bosar's father, and these two verses of Naser Khusrau are similar to this *izafat* and (i) of filiation:

> Where is Sam of Nariman and where is Rustam?
> Leader of the army of Mazindaran.

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[146] In Khugyani in the eastern province of Nangarhar, Afghanistan there is a tomb named Mursale Baba, but it is not known which Mursal. However, among the ancient dams of Ghazna there is Mursal's dam, at a distance of 25 km to the south-east, which has that name still nowadays, and it is quite likely that this is connected with the Mursal of Loyak.

Where is Babak of Sasan and where Ardsher?

Who is neither Bahram nor Noshirawan.[147]

This same sort of descriptive and attributive (i) appears after the word Shizogarg also, because the following word #59 is its adjective and attributive. But in the first and second copies this sign is separated by the O symbol, and in the third copy Shizogarg is connected, and as a rule it should be separated.

59. ΑΛΟþΧΑΛ (álu<u>s</u>âl)

Henning mentions this word with the meaning of compassionate and kind, and he wants to match the second part with a Parthian name *xchd*. As we said earlier, this word is connected to Shizigarg by means of the descriptive and attributive sign (i), and is its adjective of benediction.

The first part of the word is *alo=aro*, the (l) always changing into (r) in Pashto and Persian i.e. *dewar=dewal, gharbel=ghalbel*. So the Kushani *alo* became *aro* in modern Persian and Pashto, the meaning of which is the living-soul. Similar to *alo=aro*, this word is preserved in the first part of *arwant=alwand* also, the origin of which was *aurvant* in Avesta, meaning living-creature, quick, lively, capable, courageous, which are marks of the living-soul. This word does not come from the Arabic plural *arwâh*, as it has been depicted; it has remained from antiquity in Persian and Pashto. There is a strong possibility that Persian and Pahlavi *ruwân* and Avesta *urvân* meaning living-soul are of the same root as this Kushan *alo=arwa* in Pashto and Persian, because there is quite a proximity between Avestan *urvân* and the modern pronunciation *arwâ*. The word *gushurvan* is an example of the ancient use of the root *arwâ* in Avesta. This was one of the assistants to Wahumina (guardian-angel of the bedstead). This word has been translated as *gushu* (gaw)+*rva*n *(ruwan)*, cow-soul, which is mentioned in Fiqh-al-Lugha-e Irani, compiled by Jackson (II. p. 637) in reference to Bandhishane Buzurg,[148] and in this name the first part may be compared with *gha<u>zh</u>gâw* (the holy yak of the Pamir and Badakshan uplands) and the second part with *alo=arwa=ruwan*, meaning living-soul.

As for the second part of the word, *<u>s</u>âl* (retroflex sh) is the same Persian *<u>sh</u>âd* and Pashto (retroflex sh) *<u>s</u>âd*, and in Greek they used PX (sh and kh) together to represent the pronunciation of retroflex sh.[149] They showed the pronunciation of the special sound retroflex sh, which is a composite sound between sh and kh, by writing both of the letters, and it is certain that they pronounced this sound exactly like the retroflex (sh) of today's Pashto to the west of Kabul.[150]

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[147] Diwan-e Nasir Khusrao, p. 317.

[148] Mazda Parasti dar Iran-e Qadeem, p. 46.

[149] In the second copy, this word appears as A...AXSHAL, and there the spelling of retroflex (sh) is (xsh).

[150] In the Avesta alphabet and writing-system there is a strengthening (sh) in addition to the regular (sh), which gave the sound of

As for (i), the final letter of the word, in other languages it changes to (d) and another example of this metathesis is the metathesis of *nawshâl* to *nawshâd* in this inscription. From this it is evident that in the Kushani language they pronounced and wrote this final (d) of the words *nawshâd* and *shâd* within (i), and the word *shad* was *shat* in Pahlavi, *shata* in Avesta (retroflex sh), and *shiyati* in old Persian. *Shal* (retroflex sh), *shad, shat*, and *shad* (retroflex sh), then, are different pronunciations of the word, and altogether both the words are *arwa+shad* i.e. bless his soul, which was probably a usage similar to modern *shad-ruwan*, which is used for the dead in respect and benediction. And since Shizogarg, father of Shah Loyak Bosar, had died when the inscription was being written and had entered into the state of mercy, he was spoken of as *arwâ shâd*.

From this discussion two results are clear:

First, the belief of the people of that time in the existence and immortality of the soul, because we know that they believed in the existence of the soul after corporeal dissolution, since they wished for the soul's well-being.

Secondly, we know that the Pashto sound retroflex (sh) was also in the Kushani language, and they pronounced *shad* as *shal* (retroflex sh) and wrote (sh) and (kh) together for it.

60. ΚΙΔ (=kéh)
This is the declarative particle and relative pronoun referring to the blessed Shizogarg. Cf. #50.

61,62. ΦΑΡΟ ΟΙϹΠ (fáro-wésp)
The first part of this word is probably connected to the old Persian root *pro*, Avestan *poro*, Pashto *pura*, which has the meaning of entire and complete. Its explanation will come in #96.

As for the second part OICP (wésp) Maricq has read it as old Iranian *wispa*, meaning entire, all. In Pahlavi it was also *wisf* (all) and *har-wisf* (even each one), and Kitab-al-Tambiat àla Huruf-al-Tashif (book of correcting wrong letters) by Hamza bin Hasan, the single manuscript of which is in the library of the Faculty of Law in Teheran, among all kinds of ancient writing there is the seventh kind, *wisf-safira*, i.e. secretariat for all kinds of writing,[151] so that Maricq's interpretation also seems compatible with this evidence.

The two words #61 and 62 should be read as *fáro-wésp*=complete and whole, which are connected with what follows them.

63,64,65 ΑΝΟΜΟ ΨΑΔ ΒΑΡΓΑΝ (ánumo wâd bargân)
Henning considered these words from KID to BARGAN to be a benedictory phrase, and says it is

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this Pashto retroflex (sh), and in Avesta there was the word *shat* with retroflex sh (=shad) with the same meaning and sound of Pashto *shad* (retroflex sh) and Kushani *shal* (retroflex sh).

[151] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 99.

probably a prayer for the Shah,[152] but he and others have not applied themselves to the analysis of these benedictory words. Clearly #63 is a form of Persian *nâm*=Pashto *num*. They have read #64 as *wad*, the ancient form of the same invocatory *bad* from the verb *budan*. As for #65, BARGAN, it shows a connection with the name Barg of this inscription, #11, the second line. At present, however, we can say nothing about the details of these words. Why did *nâm* (as in #11) become anomo here? Why has *wad=bad* come in the middle? Why did barg from #11 become bargan here with the addition of *ân*? There is a strong possibility that these words have changed their forms because of predetermined grammatical requirements, and their close analysis depends on our future information about the grammar and morphological changes of words in the Kushani language.

In any case, in view of past analyses the words #46 to 65 have the following meaning: TAKALD NOKONZOK I KARALRANG I FRE I KHOADEOG KID FREISTAR AB SHA I BAG POHR I LOIX BOSAR I SHIZOGARG I ALOSHXAL KID FARO OICP ANOMO OAD BARGAN: until Nokonzok the Kanarang, who is the distributor of water, through the Lord, the son of God Shah Loyak Bosar (son) of the blessed Shizogarg, may his name always be famous.

As regards the suffix *barg*, refer both to #11 and 119 where I have given an explanation.

66. ΨϹΟΓΔ (wusugd)

Maricq wrote clean and pure as the translation of this word, considering it to be from the ancient Iranian root *awa-suseta*. For the following word MAGG he gave the meaning flax. Henning viewed this meaning of flax for *máng* with incredulous amazement and writes the meaning of both words as "with a pure heart". Actually the word flax is contrary to the trend of the wording.

There was a word in the Dari language in the form of *asaghada* meaning prepared and ready, which also had an infinitive in the form of *asaghdîdan* i.e. to prepare or make ready.[153] This Dari word is quite close to WSOGD, and it also has connection and congruity with the word *máng* which follows it, as we shall see.

67. ΜΑΝΓ (mâng)

Based on the pronunciation of (ng) for two (g)s as in #7, 48, 77, 91 and 143, this word should also be read as *mâng*. Previously in the interpretation of #11 the reader saw that there are some words in

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[152] This couplet of Firdawsi is a parallel to this benedictory phrase:

In the time of emperor Noushirwan,

May his name remain forever!

[153] Burhan-e Qata, p. 129.

this inscription ending in an attributive (g), the pronunciation of which (g) was between (k) and (g).[154] If we remove this attributive (g) from this word, then, there remains *mán*, which was in ancient Pashto literature with the meaning of will and intention. Amir Kro<u>rr</u> Jahan Pahlawan (circa 139 H.) said:

 The arrows of my desire *(mán)* go like lightening upon the enemies.[155]

 This word was also used in Sanskrit with the meaning of desire, heart and soul,[156] and Al Beruni used it with the meaning of heart and desire.[157] Also in Pashto there is in addition the verb *manél, mán* meaning to take to heart, i.e. to accept. So it can be said that wCOGgd maGg (*wusugd máng*) has the meaning of with a prepared/ready heart, and these two words are an attributive compound modifying our Nokonzok the Kanarang who with a prepared and ready heart and mind had started on the work.

68. ΠΙΔ (péd=pah=bah)
This word which in Pashto is *pah* and *bah* in Persian also appears in #90, 121 and 144, and its final (d) has changed into (h), just like KID of #50 and 60 and SAD of #83, 116, 122, 132, and KALD of #46 and others of the same gnere ending in this same (d) which are frequent in this inscription. And nowadays *pah* remains in Pashto and *bah* in Persian. This Kushani PID was *padh* (fricative)=*pat* in Pahlavi with the exact same meaning of *pah=bah*.[158]

 Henning has likewise recorded this word with the meaning of *bah=bar*, which was *pati* in old Persian, *paiti* in Avesta, and in Turfan-Pahlavi it was *padh* (fricative), close to this Kushani PID.[159] The word also appears in #90, 144 and in #121, 123 it remains in the form PIDIN. This Kushani PID was also alive in Dari at the beginning of the Islamic era. In Tarekh-e Seistan (p. 35) there are some hymns of the Karkoy fire temple which were copied from the Shahnama of Abdul Myàyyid of Balkh. This verse was entered therein:

 dost bazâgosh bã afrin nihâda gosh[160]

 In the first hemstitch *baz-ãgosh* means *ba-ã<u>gh</u>osh* (in bosom).

 This same Kushani PID=Pahlavi *pat* could be heard in the time of Mohammad ibn Ahmad Bushari Maqdasi 375 H. in Merv of Khurasan. That is to say that this same perspicacious writer and traveller heard in Merv the word *barây* (i.e. *ba-raî*) as *bartaî* with the meaning of for that,[161] so that even up to this time they said *pat=pid* in this word.

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[154]   Sabk Shenasi, I, p. 32.

[155]   Pata Khazana, p. 33.

[156]   Hindi Dictionary, p. 703.

[157]   Kitab-al-Hind, I, p. 45.

[158]   Sabk Shinasi, I, p 124.

[159]   Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 322.

[160]   Tarekh-e Adabiyat, I, p. 147.

[161]   Ahsan-al-Taqasem, p. 334.

69. ΙΙΨΓ (êwig)

The (i) before IWG is the same particle of relationship and *izafat* which appears often in this inscription, and *iwg* is the Persian *yakum* and Pashto *yáw*, which was present in Pahlavi also as *iwkk*.[162] From #82, 130, 148 and 164 it is clear that the cardinal form of this numeral was close to Pashto *yáw.*

In old Persian the number one is *ayvaka* or *ayva*; *aeva* in Avesta, *ikî* in Kurdish, *yak* in Pazind, *eka* in old Hindi, *yeu* in Asti, *eyak* in Baluchi, *iv* in Wakhi, *yiv* in Shagni, *i* in Yaghnubi, *yao* in Manji and *vak* in Sanglechi.[163]

From (i), the cardinal form of the word, which appears repeatedly in this inscription, we can guess that the cardinal number was (i) and the ordinal number was *iwg*=first.

70. ΟΔΟΥΙΡC (ûdûhérs)

The closest numeral is Pashto *dérsh*, which is *dérs* in the dialect of the Ghalji people in the river-valley of Ghazna, and in Persian it is the number thirty *sî*. With the preceding word, then, it is IWG ODOHIRC, equal to Pashto *yaw dêrsh*, i.e. thirty one (in the third copy several letters of this word are not visible).

It is known from this arrangement of the unit—and decimal numbers that in the Kushani language the units place come first and then the decimal place, just like in Pashto. The word thirty was *thrîthat* in old Persian, *thrîsat* in Avesta, *trishat* in Sanskrit, *sî* in Pazind, and *sîh* in Pahlavi.[164] Henning says that in the Khutanese language also the units-place came before the decimal-place, and in that language the number thirty-one was *ossete*.

71. XþON (khshûn=shâhi)

Henning and Maricq have taken this word to mean regnal-year and they say in Khutanese it was *kchuna*. Christensen considered *khshûn* to be in the root of the Afghan Hepthalite king Akhshunoor=*khshûn* (460 A.D.) meaning king or shah and in reference to Soghdian texts by Mueller (I, p. 108) he has shown the root of *khshûn* in the Soghdian language.[165] In the old Persian Achaemenid inscriptions there frequently appear derivations of this word the root of which was *khshay* in old Persian, *khsha* in Avesta, and *kshayati* in Sanskrit, and the word *khshâyathiya* meaning king is from this same root.[166] Investigators say that Nature became angry at the sound *khsh* and looked upon that sound with a bad attitude, and after several hundred years brought it to a more simple state, i.e. *sha*=*shâ*.[167] In Pahlavi it was *shâh*, and in some of the dialects of

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162 Sabk Shenasi, I, p. 418.

163 Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 2440.

164 Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1198.

165 The Sassanids, p. 385.

166 Old Persian, p 181.

167 Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 181.

northwestern Iran it was _shathr_. The roots of Persian _shahr_ and Pashto _shâr_ (retroflex sh) are also of the same provenance.[168]

I have written an account about the remnants of this word in the Pashto language and literature in Loyakan-e Ghazna and Tarekh-e Adabiyat-e Pashto, which may be referred to.

Here, the purpose of having this word after "the thirty-first year" is that this inscription was presumably written in the thirty-first year of Kanishka's reign (circa 160 A.D.).

72. NEICAN (néisân)

This was a name of the Babylonian month, which was also used in the Soghdian reckoning, according to Benveniste. Néisân was the seventh month of the Byzantine year and originally was the Babylonian month of spring which would correspond with the European March and April (our solar Hamal). It was also the seventh month of the Syrian reckoning, the first month of the Jewish religious year, and it had thirty days.[169] Here is the transmutation of this word: Akhadian _nîsân_, Aramaic _nîsân_.[170] In Burhan-e Qatà it is _naysân_.

From the usage of this word we perceive that the Babylonian reckoning was in circulation in this territory in the Kushanid era.

73. MA (mâ)

In the Kushani language the present _mâh_ was written without the final (h), like _shâ=shâh_, and they said _nésân-mâ_, which was also _mâh (=mâhak)_ in Pahlavi, _mawngh_ in Avesta and old Persian, _mâs_ in Sanskrit, and _mâkh_ in Soghdian.[171] In the second copy this word is MAH.

74. MAΛ (mâl)

This means time, and _mâl/mahâl_ are living words in Pashto even today with the meaning time/period. It was in use in old Pashto literature from the outset of the Islamic era. I have given an account of this in the notes and commentary to Paṯa Ḵhazâna.

75. ΑΓΑΔΟΑΝ (ágâdowân)

Maricq read the last part of the word as AM; however, since I referred to the original of the inscription in the Kabul museum, where it is clearly written N instead of M, I therefore read it as N. In the second copy it has been distorted, and in the third copy it was read as AB.

Since #68 to 74 tell the date of the erection of the _mahâdizh_ in Baghlan—in the thirty-first year of

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168 Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1231, 1315.
169 Encyclopedia of Islam, see Nesan
170 Al-dakhil fi lughat-al-Arab (Loan-words in the Arabic vocabulary). Kuliyat-al-Adab, I, p 49.
171 Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1965.

the Kanishka era, month of Nésân—word #75 is therefore connected to what follows it. Maricq took AGAD to be from *gata* meaning reached, passed i.e. that the middle of the month of Nésân had passed, but in my view the date stops on the word MAL, and AGADOAN should be connected to that which follows it.

In old Persian there was *gâthu*, and in Avesta *gatu* (place, site, seat) and in old Hindi *gâtu* (path, way), and orientalists have seen a parallel to them in the Pashto word *ghâl<u>ey</u>* (carpet).[172]

My guess is that Kushani *agâd* is the same ancient *gâthu=gâtu*, which in Persian is *gâh*, an adverb of place.[173] There is a suffix AN attached to the end which is the same suffix of condition, attribution, and relation which we see in #65, 93, 96, 101 and 107 in this inscription. This AN of attribution, condition and relation is found today in Pashto also, attaching itself to the end of words. For example, *kâl* (year), *kalan* (age), *tura* (sword), *turan* (swordsman). Therefore, we will not be far off by translating AGADOAN BAG LANG in this way: became settler of Baglang i.e. established himself in Baghlan.

76, 77. ΒΑΓ ΛΑΝΓ (bág láng=Ba<u>gh</u>lân)
Cf. #6 and 7.

78. ΤΑΔΕΙ (tâdéî)
Cf. #18, 81.

79. ΜΑΛΙΖ (mâléz=mahâsdizh)
CF. #2.

80. ΠΟΡΟΓΑΤ (purogát)[174]
Henning understands this word to be co-radical with #128 POROWAT, and derived from *farwarcht* meaning devotion and diligence, the final (t) representing cht.

In Pashto there is *parwari<u>sh</u>t* (retroflex sh) which is near in form to the Kushani and Soghdian. Persian *parwardan/parwarish* is also from this root. Also in old Persian there was *fro+vat* meaning maintenance, protection, care and in the Achaemenid inscriptions there are names form this root.[175]

Perhaps *purogát* is an active verb in the absolute past which we say in modern Persian as *parward*. Therefore the jist of this sentence is as follows: Nokonzok the Kanarang and water-supplier came to Baghlan in the month of Nésân, year 31 of the Kanishka era, built up this fortress, and

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[172] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1771.

[173] The final (d) of the particle od in # 26 and of TAD in # 32 has been dropped, and in KALD, PID and KID it has been changed into the weak (h). It is possible, then, that Kushani *agâd* also became the Dari *gâh*, (cf. #32, 83).

[174] In the third copy it is not clear and PORGA is seen.

[175] Old Persian, p. 198.

worked hard. AGADOAN BAG LANG TADEI MALIZ POROGAT means: settled in Baghlan, until he made this temple prosper.

81. TAΔEI (tâdéi)
Cf. #18, 78.

82. EII (iyé=Pashto *yaw*, Persian *yak*)
Cf. #69, 130, 148, 164; E in the second copy; EI in the third.

83. CAΔ (sâd)
CAD is Pashto *tsâh* and Persian *châh*. Maricq, however, identifies this word as being close to Soghdian (*st*) meaning complete, whole, Persian *sâda* and Armenian *stak* (complete, correct). There is no reason for this and no occasion for such correspondence.

Henning's view is more correct, that Soghdian had the word *chat* meaning well, and Kushani CAD is close to this word as well as to Avestan *sât* (well). As we seen in #1, 8, 22, 26, 37, 60 and 90 etc. a final (d) which came in words after a vowel either was changed into a weak (h) or is silent. SAD, then, has also naturally changed into Pashto *tsâh* and Persian *châh.*

This word is repeated in the same form in #116, 122 and 132.

84. KANΔ (kánd)
This is the same modern Persian *kand* (preterite of *kan*), the same in old Persian and Avesta; in Pahlavi the infinitive was *katan*, and in old Hindi *kandi* (from *khan*), and in Pashto the infinitive is *kînal*.[176]

85. OTEI (autéy)
This word is repeated with the same usage in #89 and 114. Henning has written it with the meaning and of him (it). Nowadays we read this word in Pashto as *otè* i.e. and from him (it), and it. The (éy) at the end of the word is a living pronoun of modern Pashto=yê, also coming at the end of the word *tâdéî* in #18, 78, and 81. This word, then, is compounded from two words which are used in this inscription, ot=wa and éy of Pashto=and from it. Here is how we would say this sentence in Pashto: *tsâ yay wukind otè awbah wâyeste* (he dug a well and from it got water).

86. AB (ãb)
Cf. #20, 41, 52.

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[176] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1707.

87. OZ (auz)

According to Henning and Maricq, *auz* was a prefix in old Persian used to show upward movement. It survives in modern Persian as *azo* and Pashto <u>dzenay</u> (both meaning from/it). This word is connected with what follows it. Second copy AZOOACTO, third copy ZOACTI.

88. OACT (wást)

In modern Pashto we say this verb as *wèist=uwèist*, i.e. he brought forth, produced from the infinitive *westal=éstal* (to bring forth, produce). Here, then is the meaning of #81 to 88 TADEI EII SAD KAND OTEI AB OZ: then he dug one well and brought forth water from it.

89. OTEI (autéy=Pashto oté)

Cf. #85.

90. ΠΙΔ (péd)

Same as Pashto *pah* and Persian *bah*. Cf. #68.

91. ΑCΑΝΓΕΙΘ (ásángî-éth=sang-tah)

The first part of the word is plural, as the BAGE of #33. In Avesta also it was *âsenga*, in old Persian *âthaga* (*âthanga*), and *sang* in Pahlavi and Persian.[177] The Pashto word for stone, *tîga*, is close to these words. (In the second copy the last two letters of this word are missing).

   As for the (e) at the end of the word, it indicates plural like *bégé*, and it is attached to the end of it. This is probably the same *tah* which nowadays means below/under, and *sang-tah* means the stone's base, and it is the object of the following verb. (DO in the second copy and IDA in the third copy).

92. ΟΙΛΙΡΔ (uwilird)

Maicq and Henning have regarded the ancient Iranian *widrta* meaning took/held as parallel to this word, and the Parthian adjective *dyard* corresponds to it.

   Now, in Pashto *ôtè darîd* is close to this verb, from the infinitive *darîdal* meaning to stop/stand still for both animate and inanimate things.

   In the Kushani language *dar* of neighboring languages always changed into *lar*. Christensen has shown this alteration of (d) to (l) in various dialects of the eastern Iranian plateau in reference to Soghdian Readings compiled by Andreas. He says that the name Darwâsp was one of the deities of the Mazda worshippers on the coins of the Kushanid Kanishka, who reigned from 125 to 152 A.D. It is seen in the form of a bearded god with a running horse and with the spelling of Lro-aspo, which

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[177] Old Persian, p. 166; Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1175.

Aurel Stein identifies with the Persian *lohrasp*. Besides this, the ancient word *drâc* is *lor* in Pashto, *larûkh* in Munjani, and *dâs* in Persian, all of which point to this transformation in ancient times.[178]

According to these rules of phonetic change, then, Kushani OILIRD becomes *aurdared* in Pashto. It is not apparent whether the (i) after the (l) represents a short or long sound and it is possible that it only represents a short sound, in which case it would be close to Pashto *lar=dar*. Here is the meaning of #89 to 92: OTEI PID ASANGEITH OILIRD: and by him (a well) was established by the stone's base.

93. ATAN (átan)

Henning has apparently translated this word as such that and he has indicated the Avestan at third-person pronoun as the word's root. He also refers to KALDAN #101 and TADAN #108, and Maricq feels that it is connected to OT of #43. In any case they have not expressed their definite opinions.

In my belief this word is a dialect variant of Pahlavi *êton* which means this and such. In old Persian it was *aytavanâ* and in Avesta *aêtavant*.[179]

94. AB (ãb)

Cf. #20.

95. ΜΑΛΙΖ (mâléz)

Cf. #2.

96. FAPOKAPAN (fárukárán)

Maricq mentions the first part of this word, *faro*, as being equivalent to old Persian *pru*, Avestan *puru*, and Khutanese *buru* with the meaning of much and very. In modern Pashto we have the word *pura* meaning full, complete and sufficient, which has also been taken into use in Dari spoken in Afghanistan. It also appears in #61 in the same form and meaning.

Henning writes that the second part of the word means pure and clean, but it is clearly connected to the group of #65, 93, 101 and 107 which end with the attributive suffix (an). Its root can be seen to be the *kar* of *kardan* (Persian) and *kr̲row/kr̲rál* (Pashto). It gives the meaning of attributive and object, i.e. made/done. This will be the meaning of the whole sentence from #93 to 96. ATAN AB MALIZ FAROKARAN: thus the water of the temple was made plentiful.

This is a conditional clause, the result of which comes in the following clause.

97. AB (ãb)

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[178] Mazda Parasti dar Iran-e Qadim, p. 114.

[179] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 194, quoting from Bartholomey et al. the word *êdon* has frequently been used in Dari verse and prose.

Cf. #20.

98, 99. ΜΑΓΑΟΕ (mágâwéy)

Maricq has interpreted this word as a finite verb from the Avestan infinitive *gav* (to obtain), which, similarly to the verbs in #105, 110 and 113, ends in the suffix (ei). Henning has derived it from the same *gav* which is the *gw* in Sogdian with the meaning of to fail, want. He says that it is possible that (g) was from the sound (k) which occurred between two vowels, and that the verb is in the third-person optative mood.

If we divide up this verb according to the pattern in #110 and 113 then there should be three parts: *má*=the negative and prohibitory *ma*; then there is *gâw+wéy*. The negative prefix *má* and the suffix *éy* are also found with other two verbs. The root of the verb, then, is *gâw*, and if we take it to be from the *gaw* meaning to obtain/to ask for, then the meaning of the sentence should be, may the water not be asked for nor obtained! which does not fit into the context. And if we look at the sentences which precede and follow as being in the affirmative mood (whereas in #26 to 36 a sentence like this was in a mood of negation and of abandonment of the temple), then we cannot interpret AB MAGAOEI here negatively as water was not available or not asked for.

My guess is that, as Henning has said, we should look for the root of *gâw* in *kâw*. And here there are two possibilities:

First. In Dari Persian there were the words *kawîdan* and *kâwish* from the root *kâw* (seen in *kâftan*) meaning to dig up/search out, as we see from this verse by Ansuri:

> *bi kâwéd kâlâsh râ sar ba sar*
> *kê dânad kê chi yâft zar wa guhar.*[180]
> Search through his belongings from top to bottom,
> Who knows what he found of gold and jewels.

The meaning of the sentence should in this case be as follows: may the water not need to be searched after (in the sense that it is present).

Second: From the same root in Dari there was *kâhîdan, kâhish* and *kâstan*, meaning to become few, to decrease,[181] and if we accept this view then this is the meaning of the sentence: let the water not be scarce!

At this point it should be noted that concerning the change of Dari (k) to Kushani (g), there are in the inscription a number of words the spelling of which has a (g) which we pronounce as (k) in Dari, Persian and Pashto.

As for the third part of the word, the suffix *éy* which appears again in this inscription in the verbs of #105, 110, 112 etc., it is very similar to the Pashto *éy=wé* which is used for the third-person future

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[180] Lughat-e Furs, p. 417, Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1582.

[181] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 1571.

optative, meaning may (it) be. AB MAGAOEI: may the water not be scarce!

100. ΟΔ (aud)

Persian *wa* and Pashto *aw*, cf. #26.

101. ΚΑΛΔΑΝ (káldán)

According to Maricq this word is synonymous with KALD of #27 and 46, which has remained in Pashto in the form of *kála*. As for the suffix *an* on this word and #107 *tâdan*, it is probably based on the sentence's grammatical requirements, because this same meaning with the same sentence and wording is actually mentioned in #26 to 36 in the past tense, where, in consequence of lack of water the temple and *mâdizh* of Baglang were left abandoned and empty of worshippers. However, in this sentence, from #100 to 113, all the verbs are connected with the imperfect and future optative. *Kald* and *tâd*, then are used for the past, and *kaldan, tâdan* for the future. This linguistic transformation is related to Kushanid grammatical rules which are not clear to us nowadays, but in any case the meaning of KALDAN is *kála*=when.

102, 103, 104. ΑC ΛΡΟ YΟΜΙΝΑΝ Ι-ΕΙΡ (áse lro hûménán éir)

These words an an exact repetition of #28, 29 and 30; their meaning is the same, as has been noted.

105, 106. ΒΟ ΕΙ (bû éy)

Maricq has indicated that the root of the word *bov* is to exist and it is obvious that the Pahlavi infinitives *budan/butan*, Avestan *bhaviti* and Sanskrit *bhaoti* come from the old Ininan root *bhav/bhu*, in which the meaning of existence is contained. In ancient times the Dari infinitive *bûdan* had a conjugation with these components: *bam/buwan* (I am); *biyam/buwen* (we are); *bi/buwi* (you are); *bád/buwéd* (you are); *bád* (he is); *band/buwand* (they are). For further explanation refer to Farhang-e Tabaqât-al-Sufiya, p. 596.

Word #105 ΒΟ, then, was from this same root in the Kushani language, from which boya remains in Pashto, being used for emphasis, i.e. necessarily.

As for the suffix *éy* at the end, it is the same which comes at the end of the verbs in #99, 112 and 119 also, remaining in Pashto as *yê=wê* meaning be. ΒΟ ΕΙ then has the meaning: may (it) be!

107. ΤΑΔΑΝ (tadán)

This word is connected to the TAD of #32 and 137, from which *tâ* has remained in modern Persian and Pashto. In #101 I explained the affix *an*, which is a sign of the future, and altogether the meaning is so that or whereafter. The following (i) leads us on to the word BAGEAC.

108. ΒΑΓΕΑC (bégéys)

BAGEAC means those of the Great One i.e. worshippers. For details see #33 and 34. In the second and third copies some of the letters of this word are missing.

109. NAþAΛM (naw<u>sh</u>âlm=naw<u>sh</u>âd)

Cf. #35.

110. MAΦPOXOAþONΔEI (mâfru<u>kh</u>u<u>sh</u>undîy)

The first part of the word is MA=*mah* of Pashto and Persian *nah*, a prohibitive and negative article, i.e. Persian *nah-kun* and Pashto *mah-kawa*—both meaning don't do (it). This article is also used for prohibitive negation in old Persian, Sanskrit and Avesta.[182]

The second part FRU is the previously-mentioned prefix which comes before verbs in this inscription in #18 and 36 also. It is an emphatic article, a discussion of which was given in #36.

Maricq and Henning have taken the third part, XOASOND to be from the same root as XORTIND of #36. According to Henning it is third-person plural future which presumably ended in (nd). But Henning says that the verbs *frukhwart* must be deduced from the context and order of the sentence, because their roots are not clear.

In #36, where FROXORTIND is used as a preterit verb, I indicated its meaning as disperse/perish, and MAFROXOASONDEI would be its third-person plural form, i.e. they will not perish or be abandoned.[183]

Now let us compare this sentence repeated in the inscription in the past and future tenses:

Past: OD KALD AS LROHOMINAN-I-ER STAD TAAD-I-BAGEAS NOSHALM FROXOASOND; and when the holy deity of the fire stopped, then the worshippers of Nawshal perished.

Future: OD KALDAN AS LROHOMINAN I ER BOEI, TADAN I BAGEAS I NOSHALM MA FROXOASONDEI; and the holy deity of the fire will be (present), then the worshippers of Nawshal will not perish.

111. OTAN (aután)

According to Maricq this word is equal to OT=and which has repeatedly occurred in this inscription. Henning has also noted this word OT and writes that its meaning is and, of them.

The structure of this word is obviously similar to the group of words ending in *an*, and there are many examples of them in this inscription. Now we know from the phrase in #43 to 45 that OT was used with a past tense verb, and here OTAN occurs with a future verb. Thus the rule of KALD and TAD #101 is again effective on OT, and it seems that when used with a future verb KALD and TAD became KALDAN and TADAN. Here also the past-tense OT has changed to OTAN with the future

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[182] Old Persian, p. 30.

[183] In the third text of the inscription this word is MAFROXWSHINDE.

tense. In any case its meaning is and.

112. MAΛIZ (mâléz)

Cf. #2, 16, 23, 44, 79, 95, 112, 126.

113. MAΠIΔOPIXCEI (mâpédurékhsîy)

This negative verb is of the same root as PIDORIGD of # 45. According to Maricq it is close to Iranian *raik* (leave, let), the Sogdian word *prxs* (remain), and Khotanese *pors* (freed, released). This may be a future form of the verb in #45, and in Pashto the third person verb form *prèsey=prèzde* is similar to this in meaning, and *mâ pédurékhsîy* would mean *ma prèsey* i.e. the temple will not become abandoned. Now let us look at both sentences in the past and future tenses:

Past: OT MALIZ PIDORIGD, and the temple was abandoned.

Future: OTAN MALIZ MA PIDORIXCEI, and the temple will not be abandoned.

114. OTEI (autéy)

Cf. 85, 89.

115. ACACKOM (ásáskum)

I cannot figure out the root of this verb, but Henning has given its root in the old Iranian words *skamba-harcha* meaning a supportive crudely built demi-arch, and as for the change of ancient (tch) to (sh) or (s) he gives as a basis the word (as) in this inscription, which has changed to Persian *az*. In old Persian it was *hach*. He says that the (s) of some words in this inscription represents an earlier (ch).

If we accept this view of Henning, then *ásáskum* (a crude arch) would be a substantive for the following word CAD=well.

116. CAΔ (sâd=<u>ch</u>ah)

Cf. #83.

117. AXþTP (á<u>kh</u>shtrég)

Maricq has described this word as a dubitative adverb meaning custodian and supervisor, which does not fit these circumstances. I believe that this word is connected with the following word as one verb with three parts: *akhsht+rig+kird.*

The first part *akhsht* is modern Persian *khisht* and Pashto *khásta*, both meaning brick or sometimes dirt. In Pahlavi it was *khisht*, in Avesta *ishtya*, and in Sanskrit *ishtikâ*.[184]

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[184] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 750.

As for the second part of the word, along with Persian and Pahlavi *réz=rékhtan* it has its source in Avesta *raec-raecayt* (to scatter out), and here it means to cast up (=set up) the foundations of a building; *ákhshtrég* should be translated as *khisht-réz*. This word is repeated in #124.

118. KIPΔ (kérd)

This is our past-tense Persian *kard*, also seen in #12. There, however, it is an independent verb, and here it is an auxiliary verb along with the preceding word *akhshtrég*.

119. ΑΛΒΑΡΓ (álbárg)

Maricq has explained this word as having two parts, *ál+bárg*, being from Avestan *hada* meaning with, and *bárg* the second part meaning castle. Henning, however, says that this word does not have two parts and that perhaps it is like old Persian *hadabara*, meaning friend and helper. Now #119 and 120, ALBARG OSTADOITHOAT should be connected with the preceding sentence, i.e. they should say something about the well which was mentioned in the preceding sentence. If we give credit to the definition friend/helper, then what kind of meaning will this result in?

The way I see it this word is a compound made up of two parts which formed one compound in the Kushani language: *ál+bárg*, in this manner:

ál: In the dialects of Afghanistan it is common for an (l) to change into an (r), i.e. *dîwar=dewal, gharbél=ghalbel*, and this has already been indicated in #59. Therefore Kushani *ál* becomes *ár*. Since ancient times in Pashto there has been the word *ãr/ãrah*, meaning origin and basis, and according to Geiger the word *ãrina*, which meant origin and basis in Sanskrit, is also derived from *ãr*.[185]

Akbar Zamindawari, the Pashtun poet said (c. 800 H.):

Her grief has originated (*ãrah*) in my heart

With my rival she laughs with delight.

Mullah Alif, a poet around 1019 H. says in Bahr-al-Imâm:

From origin (*ãrah*) he was esteemed,

Even though in grief beset.

Pir Mohammad Miaji (1135 H.) says:

Shaikh Mati was a great saint

From beginning (*ãrah*) he was sage. [186]

Kushani *ãl*, then is equivalent to ancient *ãr* and Pashto *ãrah* and it means origin and basis. The

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[185] The Eastern Iranian Civilization, I, p. 65.
[186] Tarakh-e Adabiyat Pashto, I, p. 21.

second word BARG is the same word which occurred in #11 and 65 also in NAMOBARG (*nâmwar*) famous, and *bargân*. *Bár* is the same attributive suffix *wá*r of Persian and Pashto. So *ãlbár* is like *ãrwár* and would mean having a basis. As with other words in the Kushani language, the descriptive (g) has been appended, and the explanation of this is found in #11.

120. ΨCTAΔOIΘOAT (ustadowéthwát)[187]

Orientalists have separated WCTAD from ITH and AT, and they are ambigious as to their meanings, which for *ith* they have given as pillar, arrow and rafters. In my opinion, however, this word is a past-tense actualized passive transitive infinitive, the root of which is STAD of #25 and 31. There it was absolute past-tense active third-person singular, and here it is used passively in reference to *châh khisht-rez*. The phrase in #119, 120 is a statement about the previous well, and *álbárg ustadaowéthwát* has this meaning: the well was erected with a base.

Here then is the meaning of all the phrase from #114 to 120. OTEI ACASKOM SAD AXSHT RIG KIRD ALBARG WCTADOITHOAT: and (when) they erected with bricks the arch of the well, it (the well) was erected with a base. It should also be said that OAT is also used at the end of the verb in #128 for the passive past tense, whereas in #80 AT alone was used for the active past tense.

121. ΠIΔEN (pédéin)[188]

As was explained in #68, this is an ancient form of Persian *bah* and Pashto *pah*, used as a preposition. In Turfani Pahlavi, it was *dadh* (a continuent) and in Avesta it was *payti*. The first part, then is PID which means *ba(d)*, and as for the second part, it is like Persian *eîn*=this, so *pédéin* is just like Persian *badéin* meaning with or by it. This latter word is an old form found in our classical literature, analogues to *badân* and *badow* which also preserve the ancient (d). In this way Pahlavi *padh* and Kushani *pid* have combined with *ân, eîn* and *ow*.

Farrukhi says:

With *(badîn)* such glamorous festivities, and wishful day,

The king may endeavor festive every day.

Ferdowsi says:

With *(badîn)* such glamor and personality

You deserve such a throne and crown.

This word is repeated in #123 also. It should be said that words in languages always meet with the opportunity for transmutation from their former shapes through the course of centuries according to the vicissitudes of time and the circuitings of fortune. Sometimes a word becomes reduced and abbreviated. Occasionally their ancient form remain in compounds. For example, ancient *pid*

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[187] Second text: ITHAATO.

[188] Third text: PIDEINI

changed to *bah=pah*, but its ancient form has remained in the compounds *badîn, bado,* and *badân*, cf. #68.

122. ΣΑΔ (sâd=chah)
Cf. #83, 132.

123. ΠΙΔΕΙΝ (pédéin=badîn)
Cf. #121.

124. ΑΧΡΤΡΙΓ (a<u>kh</u>shtrég=<u>kh</u>isht-réz)
Cf. #117.

125. ΥΑΡΟΥΓ (háruhg)
According to Henning this is derived from *haruvg* which means all and complete. In Persian and Pashto it is the word for all. Its roots are in old Persian *haruva* (each, every), Avestan *haurua* and Pahlavi *harvisp* (each, all, entire). In the Zâzâ dialect of Iran *hergu* (each, every) is still present to this day.[189]

So Kushani *háruhg=hama* (many, all) is like the adjectives in this inscription ending in (g), i.e. #11, 24, 67 and 119. Here it modifies the following word *mâléz* i.e. the whole temple, all of the temple.

126. ΜΑΛΙΖ (mâléz)
Cf. #2 which has been repeated seven times in this inscription.

127. ΧΟΡΖ (<u>kh</u>uhz)
According to Maricq and Henning this is equivalent to Soghdian *xwtz/suvj* and Parthian *xwj*, meaning adorned, elegant etc., and in Pashto the words *<u>kh</u>a=<u>s</u>ah=ho=<u>kh</u>o* are close to it. In Avesta and Pahlavi it was *ho*, in Sanskrit *su*, and in Dari *<u>kh</u>a*. As for the final suffix, it is like the *îz* in Pashto which is still present in the language, being added as a attributive suffix, i.e. *ghar-gharîz* (mountain) *sar-sarîz* (at the head i.e. the best). *<u>Kh</u>uhz*, then, means good, well, fine, lovely etc., and in this sentence it is a predicate adjective for the following verb in #128.

128. ΠΟΡΟΨΑΤ (purowát)
In the discussion of #80 we evaluated *purogát* which Henning defines as worship and devotion, and

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[189] Old Persian, p. 214; Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 2318.

it seems that *purogát* was a third person singular preterite active verb, and that *purowát* was a third-person singular passive voice absolute past connected with the noun *mâliz* in #126, i.e. the temple became well taken care of. In regard to this, refer to #80 and 120, for in #120 the verb is passive and ending in OAT just like this verb. Now here is the meaning of the sentence from #121 to 128. PIDEIN SAD PIDEIN AXSHTRIG HAROG MALIZ XOHZ POROOAT: with this well (and) this rise of bricks the whole temple prospered.

129. OT (aut=and)
Cf. #43, 147. The analysis is in # 26.

130. EII (iyé=yaw=yak)
Cf. #69, 82, 148.

131. M (m)
This word is an attributive and possessive ligature which also came at the end of #2.

132. CAΔ (sâd=<u>ch</u>ah)
Cf. #83, 116, 122.

133. OΔ (aud)
Persian *wa* and Pashto *aw* meaning and.

134. MAþT (má<u>sht</u>)
Without any detail Henning has written this to be an interrogative adverb meaning broken, which does not fit the context at all. This word should be a modifier for the following word in #135.

In old Persian we have *mathiyah*, in Avesta *masyao*, in Dari *máh* and *mahest*, in Kurdish *mastir*, and in Pashto *máshr*, all which mean bigger and great(er). [190] In old Persian *matshishta* meant greater and crown prince.[191] *Mâsht*, then means great and big and is used here as an adjective for the following word *khérgumán*.

135. XIPΓOMAN (khérgumán)
Henning is hesitant about the meaning of this word and says that it is Persian *khirmán* or that it means "the great fore court". This irresolute assumption on Henning's part is probably close to the truth, i.e. the word *khirmán* is used in Persian not just for a pile of harvested things. A halo around

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[190] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 2058.
[191] Old Persian, p. 210.

the moon is also called *khirmán*. Hafiz says:

> The heavens said do not waste this grandeur in love,
>
> Look for the moon's halo *(khirmán mâh)*, go seek the Pleiades.[192]

It should not be left unsaid that this root can also be seen in the word *khargâh* which means a pavilion or open living-space, and the former term for the moon's halo, *khirman-e-mâh*, has also been said as *khargâh-e-mâh* .[193] Al Beruni in Kitab-al-Tafhim and Ibn Sena in Danishnama-e Àlayeenhave used *khirman* in the meaning of halo. Both of these books were written about 420 H.

So it seems that from antiquity the word *khirman* has meant an enclosure or field, among other things. In combination with the previous adjective and the following verb *kérd* this Kushani *khérgumán* gives this meaning: OT EII M SAD OD MAST XIRGOMAN: and he made one well and a large court-yard.

We should not forget that in the Kushani language as in Pashto the modifier came before the modified, accordingly *másht* precedes *khérgumán.*

136. KIPΔ (kérd)

Cf. #12.

Up to now the discussion was centered on the repair of the Madizh fortress. After this the members of the mission mention their names as follows.

137. AM (ám)[194]

This is a singular pronoun for the first person in present day Persian i.e. *jama-ám* (my garment), *khana ám* (my home) and *dah sâla ám* (I am ten years old). A similar word which in Pashto is pronounced *yám* meaning I am, is still in existence. The *oham* of Sanskrit and *hom* in Greek are of the same nature.[195]

The word AM is inscribed before the names of the mission's members, and it means *yám=hastam* (I am). It seems that in olden times, putting *ám* before the names of people was applicable. For example, in the inscription of Darius, in Behistan its content began as follows: *adam daria wa osh* (I am Darius). For further details refer to #139, 141, 150 and 152.

138. BOPZOMIYP (borzuméhr)

A name used all over ancient Aryan lands. It is composed of two components. Borz meaning high, great and splendid. Ansuri says:

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[192] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 739.

[193] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 736.

[194] A is pronounced here with a *fatha.*

[195] Old Persian, p. 174.

They damaged the idols with their clubs,

Neither their glamour was left nor their greatness *(burz)*.[196]

Ferdowsi says:

When he killed the serpent with his club,

The world said he was great *(burz)* indeed.[197]

He says:

With the looks of the moon and splendid figure *(burz)*

With your stature, arm, hands and golden mace.[198]

The root of this word in Avesa is *bereyaiti*, meaning high, hill and mountain.[199]

Its second component, MIHR is the same in modern Persian, and *mir* of Pashto meaning sun, *mitra* in Sanskrit, *mithra* in Avesta and old Persian, *mitr* in Pahlavi; all of which meant love and friendship and the god of light. Similarly in Greek the god of sun was called *mithres*.[200]

In Pahlavi and Dari this name was recorded like *borzmihr=bozurgmihr=borzmiter*.[201] In the story of Nowshirwan in Shahmana, this word was used in the form of *bozerjamir* which means wise and educated person. It was the name of Nowshirwan's minister who was a sage and wise man.[202] Under the title "The Remembrance of Bozergmihr", his book written in Pahlavi, is still in existence. There he introduced his name as Bozurgmihr-e Bakhtagan, the minister of emperor Kisra's royal court.[203]

The inscription shows that the word *borzomihr*, or *bozurgmihr*, or *borzerjamihr* was used as the name of a person in the ancient times. It was pronounced differently in Aryan dialects. During the Islamic period, however, it became Arabicized and was pronounced as *bozurjamhir*. It meant splendid sun or as high as the sun.

The component MIHR (sun) has been used in ancient names also. In the inscription of Rozgan, the name of the Hepthalite king was inscribed as Mihrakola. Most of the Kushanid coins carry this word on one side along with the pictures of the god of the sun. On these coins the word is inscribed in the Greek alphabet. The name of a missionary from Gandahara, who went to China around 340 A.D. to spread his beliefs was Dahara-Mitra.[204] On the Khurushty inscription of the descendant of Kanishka, found in Lorlai of Balochistan, the name of the king was inscribed as Yoolamihra.[205]

A historical name with which the word BORZ was used was the name of a Persian king

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[196] Lughat-e Furs, p. 51.

[197] Shahnama, III, couplet # 7834.

[198] Shahnama, IV, couplet # 9634.

[199] Burhan-e Qatà, footnotes, p. 254.

[200] Burhan-e Qatà, p. 2061.

[201] Sabk Shinasi, I, p. 52.

[202] Shahnama, IV, after line # 9716.

[203] Pahlavi Text.

[204] Tarekh-eAfghanistan, II p. 281.

[205] Kharushti inscriptions, II, p. 181.

Vahuburz. According to Christensen, this was the name of the same ruler, Oborzos, who massacred Greek soldiers in Persian in the third century B.C.[206] It seems that Vahuburz meant good+splendor.

The inscription of Baghlan might be the oldest document so far on which this name was recorded in its oldest form. Bozerjamhir was the name of the minister of Khusrow the third=Ano Shirwan (531-578 A.D.). If we accept Islamic sayings and reports, a person by the name of Borzmihr lived in the court of Arda Shire Babakan 224-241 A.D.), who was considered to be a wise personality of the court.[207]

The name of Borzmihr has been repeatedly used in the inscription (#153 and 154), along with the name of his son Amiraman (#155), who was another member of the mission entrusted to repair the Baghlan temple.[208]

139.   (ám=yém)
Cf. #137, 141, 150 and 152.

140. ΚΖΓΑþΚΙΠΟΥΡ (kozgâshké puhr)

Kozgâshke is a personal name in Kushani language. According to Maricq, this name, with its special grammatical form in which the terminal (a) changes to (i,o) has close relation to Kushanid names in #11 and 143. In the singular form in Khutany the (a) at the end of the name changes to (i).

The second component of this word POHR, which has been used repeatedly in #55 and 153 is not preceded by the divider O. This indicates it is connected directly with KOZGASHI meaning son. Like current names there was a relation between the names of father and son in the olden times. A few examples of today's names are presented as follows: Ibn Khallad, Ibn Khaldoon, in Arabic; Kazem Zada in Persian; Mohammad Zai in Pashto and Ghafurov in Russian.

It is possible that the father's name was Kozgashka and when connected with POHR the terminal letter (a) changed into (i). In the third copy it is spelled PHRO.

141. ΑΜ (ám=yám)
Cf. #137, 150 and 152.

142. ΑΣΤΙΛ ΓΑΝΣΕΙΓΙΑΜ (ástél gânésîgîâm)

According to Maricq this word is a Kushanid name and he was a member of the mission to repair the temple of Baghlan. But there are some problems concerning such interpretation.

First: No divider separates GANCEIGI from AM, in which case both of them should be considered one word. In other words, the AM at the end of this word is not the same AM meaning I am. It is

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[206] The Sassanids, p. 50.
[207] Majmal-al-Tawarikh wal Qesas.
[208] In the third copy it is BORZOMIOR.

used in several places in the inscription and is separated by the word divider O from preceding and succeeding words. Consequently, we should read the word as Ganceigiam and not Ganceigi, like Maricq.[209]

Second: The word ACTIL has been separated from the succeeding word by a divider. Thus we must not think of ACTIL+GANCEIGIAM as a special personal name but as a modifier to the succeeding word—Nokonzok (as mentioned in #47 he was the head of the repair mission). In the first part of this compound modifier, if we change (l) to (r), as prevalent in other parts of the inscription, this word becomes *astir* in which case it seems to be closely related to the word *stir* in Pashto. *Stir* in Pashto means leader, head and great, and there is historical documentation which shows the word *stir* has been used in historical words and in fact it has its root in those words.

In the 10th and 11th hemispheres of the tenth Yasna in reference to the mountains of Afghanistan, the Hindu Kush and Kohe Baba series, the name of a peak was recorded as Starosara,[210] from which comes *stir+sar=biland sar* (high peak). The word *stir* of Avesta and Pashto might have had the form of ACTIL in the Kushani language.

The analysis of GANCEIGIAM remains an enigma since it is not separated by a divider between GANECIGI and AM. Thus I cannot accept it as a separate personal name and instead say it is a modifier to NOKONZOK. Actil+Ganceigiam, however, might have been the title or name of an official rank of the Kushanid civil servants. This is why, Nokonzok, besides holding his family title and his official rank as Kanarang, carries this title along with his name. In effect, ACTIL, like *stir* in Pashto, meant president, head and great.

143. ΝΟΚΟΝΖΙΚΙ ΚΑΡΑΛΡΑΝΓΕ ΜΑΡΕΓ (nukonzéki káralrángi mârég)
Nokonziki is the name of the same Nokonzok mentioned in #47 who was the head of the repair mission. Due to its special grammatical condition it is recorded here as Nokonziki.

Similarly, the second word, KARALARANGE is the same as #48. Here it carries the letter (e) at the end, as a sign of plural, like #98 and 108.

The third word MAREG as Henning says, means subservient. Maricq's interpretation concerning this word, seems to be closer to reality. In the inscription of Khawat, Wardak,[211] this word is used with the names of two brothers written in Kharushti script. In the Niya documents this word was also recognized as a personal name.

The Khawat inscription, inscribed during the reign of Howishka (died 182 A.D.), son of Kanishka, reads as follows:

In the year of the Kanishka epoch, during the reign of Howishka on the 15 of the month of Arta, corresponding to May (Zeus Greek), a person from the Marega family whose name was Wagra

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[209] In the third copy it is HACTILOGANZIGO.

[210] Mazda Parasty in Ancient Iran, p. 75. Christensen with reference to the dictionary of ancient Iran of Bartholmy and Iran Shahr of Marquart.

[211] A province of Afghanistan, west of Kabul.

Marega son of Kama Goya, the brother of Hashtooma Marega, built this temple in Khowada and called it Warga Marega.[212]

The above detail, written in the second century A.D., shows that Marega=Mareg was the name of a famous family during the time of Kanishka and his son Howishka.[213] The head of the repair mission of the Baghlan temple, Nokonozok, possibly belonged to this family. It is obvious that the family was respected in the court of Kushani kings and members of the family probably had the ability and a hand in repairing temples and fortresses.

144. ΠΙΔ (péd=pah=bah)
Cf. #68, 90, 121, 123.

We have to mention that there is a difference in the use of this word in different places of this inscription. Except for #68 which is exactly the same as 144, the others are followed by a divider O, after which a possessive (i) is used. This possessive (i) is used with words #29, 32, 34, 47, 49, 53, 56, 68, 103 and 107. In this case the word PID is closely related to the *pah yay* of Pashto. If we read it with the two succeeding words it would become *peî khudây farman*.

145. ΙΧΟΑΔΕ (<u>kh</u>odî)
This word is an abstract of word #49 XOADEOG. According to Henning the word *khadew* is derived from it. Here it means a Kushanid emperor.

146. ΦΡΟΜΑΝ (fromân=fármân)
In old Persian the word was *framana* meaning order, decree and *framan* in Pahlavi. It is *farman* in Persian and *parman* in Pashto. In Sanskrit it was *promana* and *framatar* of old Persian meant governor and man of authority and is derived from this root.[214]

Sàdi says:

Greatness comes with the acceptance of order *(fármân)*,
Disobedience of a decree *(fármân)* causes sorrowness.[215]

147. ΟΤ (aut=aw)
OT is a form of OD. For details refer to #26.

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[212] Abrigded from the text of Khawat inscription, History of Afghanistan, II, p. 302.
[213] In the third copy it is recorded as MAREGI.
[214] Old Persian, 198.
[215] Gulistan, p. 47.

148. EIIOMAN (éiîmán)

Neither Maricq nor Henning have said anything about this word. The first portion EII is used in #82 and 130, corresponding to *yaw* of Pashto and *yak* of Persian. The second part MAN is a suffix used with several names in old times i.e. Wahomana=Bahman, Bihmanish and Mihraman (#151) and Amihraman (#155) of this inscription. The root of *mán* could be found in the word *manel* of Pashto and *manish* of Persian.

During the Kushanid era, the name of a scholar from Gandahara, a descendent of the Kapisa kings in southern Hindukush, was Gunavarman, in which the suffix *mán* is obvious.[216] We can say that in the beginning the word was *eiiomán* (the one with belief of oneness) but later *eimân* came out of it in Persian and Pashto which means security and condolence.[217] It might have been a modifier of the following word NOBIXT.

Most probably it was the title of a great officer of government whose rank followed that of the emperor. For example, Nokonzok himself was appointed by the order of the king and EIIMAN NOBIXT to the rank of KANARANG.

149. NOBIXT (nobékht)

This is an old name commonly used until the Islamic period among Aryans. For example Nowbikht-e Ahwazi was an emperor of the court of Mansur Abasi. In effect, during that time in the family of Nowbakht there were scientific translators.[218] Abu Sahl-e Nowbakhti was a famous personality of the Abasid period.[219]

Eiîmán Nobékht was probably the prime minister of the Kushanid emperor who was second in rank to the emperor in appointing officers and civil servants. This name was inscribed on another piece of stone also found in Surkh Kotal.

150. AM (ám=yám)

Cf. #137, 141, 152.

151. MIΨPAMAN (méhrâmán)

This is the name of another member of the repair mission who was a collaborator of Nokonozok, the head of the mission. It is separated by the divider O from the preceding and succeeding words.

It was already discussed in #148 that some old Aryan names and titles ended in *mán*. Concerning the present time, we have to mention that in modern Pashto it still exists as sigh of an adjective, i.e. *barémán* (baré+mán=successful) or *karmán*=injured.

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216 Tarekh-eAfghanistan, II, p. 278.
217 Àroozi in Chahar Maqala p. 80 says: Since Firdowsi became *eiman* of Harri, he went to Tus.
218 Alfehrest, p. 251.
219 History of Persian Literature,I, p. 628.

Méhrâmán has two components. MIHR which was discussed in #138, corresponding to the Persian *mihr* and *mir* of Pashto meaning sun i.e. light and illumination, are derived from it. If we join it with the possessive sign MAN it would become *miraman* meaning lighted and illuminated. Moreover, in Pashto the word *mîmân=mîhrmân* is commonly used as title for respectful women. It is possible that this word is the historical Kushanid word *méhrâmán*. It is obvious that this word could become a suitable modifier for women. It means, in this regard, a women with beauty, personality and respect. It is possible that the word was used as a modifier for men in old times.

The change in the meaning of this word might be the same as in the word *sha=shaha=shahi* which in this inscription means emperor (#10), but in Pashto literature it is a title of respect for women, especially referred to the beloved.

Ahmad Shah has used it in the context of showing respect to his beloved:

My aching heart,

Shaha is my respectful wife.[220]

152. AM (ám=yám)

Cf. #137, 141, 150.

153, 154. ΒΟΡΖΟΜΙΥΡ ΠΟΥΡ (borzuméhr puhr)

Borzomihr is the name of the same person discussed in #138. Similarly POHR=*pour=pisar* corresponds to #55 and 140. BORZOMIHR POHR means son of Borzomihr, whose name appears in the last word of the inscription. It should be mentioned that in line 25, after #154, a sigh appears which seems to be the signature of an important personality. Likewise, a sign is seen after the word, Amihraman (#155) and is different from the aforementioned monogram.

Concerning these signs I think that the kings and important personalities of that period probably used a distinguished sign for their signatures or these signs are a declaration of their status. In fact, these kinds of symbols were frequently minted on the coins of the Kushanid kings, especially those after Kanishka the Great. Most probably these signs portrayed a symbol of their kingdom or they represented monograms. From among these signs one was minted on a Kanishka coin (around 125-152 A.D.) which resembled the shape of a crown.

According to Henning, such personal or family monograms were commonly used during the Sassanid period in the eastern parts of Aryana.

155. AMIYPAMAN[221] (améhrâmán)

Like #151, Amihraman is the name of a member of the repair mission whose father was Borzomihr,

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[220] Divan of Ahmad Shah Baba, p. 288.

[221] In the second copy it is spelled AMIORAMAN.

discussed in #138 and 153. Certainly, Amihraman, son of Borzomihr, was a different person than Mihraman of #151.

Evidently, there were two persons in the repair mission who had the same name i.e. Mihraman (#151) and Amihraman (#155). The name of one was used with the name of his father, and this might have been for the purpose of differentiating the two names from each other. However, it is not known why an (a) was used at the beginning of #155. It might possibly be due to its special grammatical form or for distinguishing one from the other.

The word Amihraman seems to be the last word of the inscription because after it a special symbol is used which signifies the end of the inscription.

Words #137 to 155 of the inscription are:

AM BORZOMIHR AM KOZGASHKIPOHR AM ASTIL GANCEIGIAM NOKONZIKI- KARALRANGI-MAREG PID IXOADE FROMAN OT EIIOMAN NOBIXT AM MIHRAMAN AM BORZOMIHR POHR AM (monogram) AMIHRAMAN (mongoram): I am Borzohihr, I am son of Kozgashki, I am the leader Nokonziki from the Kanarang of Mareg, with the decree of Khoday and the decree of Eiioman Nobikht. I am Mihraman, I am Amihraman, son of Borzomihr.

Translation of the Inscription According to the Present Analysis

This is the acropolis of Kanishka the auspicious, from Bag-Lang, which was built by the great and famous king Kaniskha. The acropolis was built in haste and was completed when the temple's water ceased. Thus the acropolis stood parched and when the holy deity of fire faded the god-lovers of Noshal perished. When the water stream became dry and the water became scarce, the acropolis was abandoned. After that Nokonzok, the Karal Rang, on behalf of the emperor, who is distributor of water for the king, the bag-pohar, Loikh Bosar, son of Shizogarg the late, who may always be celebrated, in the month of Neisan, during the thirty-first year of the era of empire settled in Bag-Lang until the acropolis prospered. Later he dug a well which produced water and erected the stone base of the well. Thus the acropolis's water became abundant and was not scarce thereafter, so that the holy deity of fire may remain eternal and the god-lovers of Noshal may not perish and the acropolis may not be abandoned. When the crudely built well was based with bricks, it strengthened the well and the acropolis prospered and one well and a great fore-court were built. I am Borzomihr, son of Kozgashki, officer of Ganseigiam, Nokonziki the Karal Rang of the Mareg. By the king's decree and by the decree of Eiioman Nobikht. I am Mihraman. I am Amihraman, son of Borzomihr.

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